

HISTORY OF EUROPE

A Summary Text for College Classes

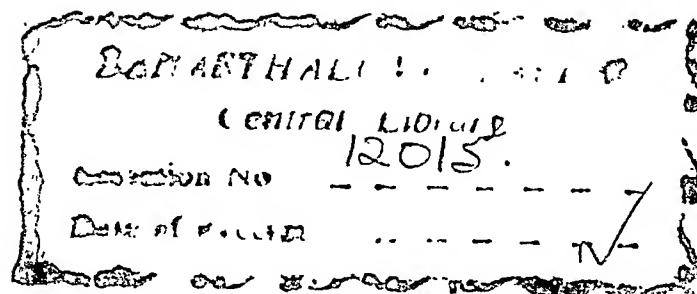
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
Preface	xi
I. The Scope and Meaning of the History of Europe	1
II. Forerunners of European Civilization	6
III. The Making of Greece	11
IV. The Legacy of Alexander the Great	17
V. Rome Arises	22
VI. Republican Rome	27
VII. Rome in Transition	33
VIII. Principate and Empire	39
IX. The Great New Force in History	44
X. Organizing the Church	48
XI. The Roman World Becomes Christian	53
XII. Folk Movements of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries	57
XIII. Justinian and Later Imperial Achievements	65
XIV. St. Augustine	71
XV. Founders of the Middle Ages	76
XVI. Monasticism before 1000	81
XVII. The Rise of Medieval Government	86
XVIII. Islam and Its Conflicts	91
XIX. The Carolingian Empire	96
XX. England before the Conquest	102
XXI. The Beginnings of France and Germany	107
XXII. The Great Medieval Conflict	112
XXIII. The Crusades	118
XXIV. England and France to 1216	122
XXV. The Hohenstaufen in Germany and Italy	127
XXVI. Church and State in the Thirteenth Century	132
XXVII. Medieval Government	138
XXVIII. The Medieval Mind	144
XXIX. Medieval Town Life	149
XXX. The Rise of the Universities	155
XXXI. St. Thomas Aquinas	161

HISTORY OF EUROPE

XXXII.	Avignon and the Great Schism	166
XXXIII.	The Hundred Years' War	172
XXXIV.	The Renaissance	177
XXXV.	Humanism, 1450-1550	182
XXXVI.	The End of the Middle Ages	187
XXXVII.	National Monarchies and Modern Times . .	192
XXXVIII.	Martin Luther	197
XXXIX.	Calvinism	202
XL.	Henry VIII and the Monasteries	206
XLI.	The Catholic Reform	212
XLII.	Philip II	217
XLIII.	France from 1598 to 1660	222
XLIV.	The Thirty Years' War	227
XLV.	Stuart England	232
XLVI.	The Expansion of Europe	237
XLVII.	The Age of Louis XIV	242
XLVIII.	Northeastern Europe in the Seventeenth Century	247
XLIX.	The Culture of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	252
L.	The Transformation of England in the Eighteenth Century	257
LI.	The End of the Old Régime; Eighteenth-Century Society	262
LII.	The Enlightened Despots	267
LIII.	Champions of Change	272
LIV.	What Was the French Revolution?	277
LV.	The Radical Phase of the Revolution	283
LVI.	The Modern Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte .	288
LVII.	The Peace Interlude of Metternich; American Republics	293
LVIII.	The Industrial Revolution	298
LIX.	The Creation of Germany and Italy	303
LX.	The New Social Problem; Solutions Attempted .	308
LXI.	Science, Politics, and Religion in the Nineteenth Century	313
LXII.	Intellectual Life in the Nineteenth Century .	318

CONTENTS

LXIII. Imperialist Expansion	323
LXIV. Alliances, Rivalries, Militarism	328
LXV. The World War and the Peace of Versailles .	333
LXVI. Russia in Revolution	338
LXVII. Nationalist Dictators; Fascism, Naziism, Corporativism	343
LXVIII. The Lateran Accord of 1929	348
LXIX. Europe and the World	353
Index	359

MAPS

Physical Map of Europe	<i>facing</i> 12
Roman Empire before the Barbarian Invasions	<i>facing</i> 40
Migrations	<i>facing</i> 60
Holy Roman Empire	<i>facing</i> 128
Europe in the Eighteenth Century	<i>facing</i> 268
Europe after the Treaty of Versailles	<i>facing</i> 336

PREFACE

EDUCATORS ARE UNITED on the need for a broad course in European history in the college of liberal arts. During many decades that course embraced only modern times, but in the past ten years many departments of history have lengthened it to include the entire span of European civilization. The reasons for this are manifold.

To the incoming freshman it often appears that his historical studies will but repeat what he learned in the grammar grades and high school. The prospect lacks freshness and may easily result in retarded ambition at a critical period in the student's life. To get this freshness historians offer a synthesis of the entire human pageant, a kind of world history wherein the transitions of culture, the changes in empire, the crumbling of decadent powers, and the birth of new institutions take on their full meaning. The course thus becomes a historical background enabling the candidate for the bachelor's degree to orient all his studies and see them as an organic unit. For those who intend to major in history the course provides the ideal skeleton on which to fix their future knowledge of history, and it has been found that success in the final comprehensive examination in history often depends on the results achieved in this course.

Then, too, it is recognized that a broader course should precede the later studies in epochal and national history. The past of Europe cannot be learned from courses dealing only with England or France, Germany or Spain, nor from such as foreshorten the perspective so much that the student finds

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the beginning of the story in 1500. Europe is old, and its history has a unity into which partial pictures fit intelligibly only when placed against the larger canvas. History tells the story of the human race, and that story is a long and uninterrupted web. In particular the function of Christianity cannot be clearly seen unless one follows it from classic times until today.

This text is in a sense a departure from orthodox methods, though its design will be found to reflect the experience and practice of many university professors. Both text and teacher enter the classroom for a similar purpose: to help the student educate himself. The college freshman needs a guide to assist him in following the lectures and in reviewing them, a director to help him understand the entire course as the unit it is meant to be. Again, the teacher expects a text to aid the student in keeping his attention on the subject, but he does not wish that book to exhaust the interest of the student and to stifle ambition for development in historical knowledge. Bulky texts have often raised the pedagogical problem of how to get the student to read anything not contained within their covers. This text aims to meet this difficulty. It does not furnish a complete and definitive narrative beyond which the student will not go without a prod. It is rather an opener of new fields and ideas for him, and it seeks to induce him to enter into these fields and master them and *find out for himself*. It places before him directions for reading and inducements to help him to do the best possible thing for a collegiate student of history—the reading of history for enjoyment.

For the study of history means far more than the absorp-

PREFACE

tion of lectures. The reading of books is indispensable. And these books should be so chosen that their reading gives pleasure—the pleasure of discovery and of seeing enacted the vital human drama. Thus their content will be remembered and their mastery will invite further conquest. Such books rouse curiosity and the search for truth. They test and enlarge the critical powers of the student now under advanced instruction. They offer a field for exact observation, which is essential in forming good judgment and correct knowledge. They invite imitation as well in telling a story as in emulation of the living models. For these reasons the course is primarily a course in reading.

This textbook has grown out of classroom experience and owes not a little to the helpful criticism of former students. Its one claim to attention is that it has been found to work, to awaken the youthful spirit and to give some small guidance toward a later academic career. The content of the text purposely includes more lectures than may be needed. This is done in recognition of the fact that instructors differ in the emphasis that they place upon various historical factors. The general aim has been to put down a clear and consistent story for student guidance. Its use is briefly described in the following paragraphs.

The course consists of two lectures and one discussion hour per week. The students, no matter how large their number, meet together for the lectures to insure identity in approach and in the development of subject matter. Professors find that they do best by making each lecture a story rather than an analytic study of a historical movement. In

HISTORY OF EUROPE

presenting the lectures they may be helped by source books wherein the original language of the historical characters is reproduced. Such might be the volumes edited by Davis, Botsford, or Laistner on ancient history, Ogg on medieval history, Kidd on the religious revolution, and the *Chronicles of America Series*. The *Guide to Historical Literature* is also most useful.

After each lecture a portion of a chosen reference book is read as part of the required class work. For the convenience of libraries these assigned readings are selected from four of the standard manuals, but better results will come from the use of only one of them by any one class. Sufficient copies should be provided—one for each ten to fifteen students—for the entire class to do its assignments after each meeting.

Of greater importance than the lectures are the weekly discussions. Groups of twenty or thirty students assemble each week for this quiz, in which the instructor reviews the work of the previous week. He questions and grades the students on their assignments. He directs their reading, replying to difficulties and criticizing the viewpoints of the authors read. Especially does he encourage personal discoveries—the avenue to intellectual development. In this way he complements the work of the lecture, the purpose of which is to put interest into the course by clear and stimulating exposition. The combination of enthusiastic presentation and careful check can produce excellent results. The lecture states general ideas, interprets movements, proposes problems. The discussion guides the work of the individual students and affords them an opportunity for self-expression.

PREFACE

For topical reading one interesting small book, or the equivalent portion of a larger one, is a minimum monthly demand on each student. It is suggested that the better students be assigned some large and worth-while work for the entire year, so that every month they will finish one volume of the set. Thus they might be urged to choose Lingard or Green, Prescott, Parkman, Bury, the novels of Scott, the historical plays of Shakespeare, or the biographies of Belloc, the selection to be left to the student and his own personal interest and curiosity. Lists of books beyond the minimum requirement are provided as guides to more extensive student reading. For patent reasons only books in English are listed. These books, of course, are not all worthy of complete acceptance. It is the duty of the instructor to point out their weaknesses in fact and point of view as well as their merits and importance.

The work of the first semester begins with early European man and continues to the opening of the fifteenth century. That century was a point of profound historical disturbance preparing for the breakdown of medieval culture and the birth of modernity. The second semester opens at the origin of the modern age and brings the story down to the present day. Though the text makes no claim to finality, it will be seen to place insistence on the Roman Republic as the foundation and on the Church as the directive force in the making of Europe. This emphasis helps the student to see the meaning of the protest against medieval life that arises soon after 1300. By 1517 that protest is in full swing, and its climax appears to have been reached in the nineteenth century.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

The past hundred years, though marked by a tremendous growth in knowledge and in the expansion of Europe, have nevertheless proven extremely unstable. The significance of that instability challenges the student of today.

The author is deeply grateful for the encouragement and helpful criticism of many of his colleagues. They will best know his appreciation when they see herein the reflection of their generous aid. A few undocumented quotations found in the text are taken with permission from *European Civilization*, by Thompson, Palm, and Van Nostrand.

CHAPTER I

The Scope and Meaning of the History of Europe

THE people and the civilization of Europe are historically most important. The nations of the Continent have come, after a long preparation, to rule and to teach the world. For twenty-three centuries they have been the dominant group among all mankind. We in America are their children in culture as well as in blood, and in more ways than one we have served as their frontier. The same has been true of Asia and Africa ever since the days of Alexander and Scipio.

For a long time before recorded history began, the people of Europe lived a rude and simple life. Gradually civilization came to them from the southeast, from the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile, across the Mediterranean to Greece, and finally to eternal Rome. The building of republican Rome completed the setting for the arrival of Christianity in the world and for a profound change in human history.

The Roman Empire, to us today, signifies three notable facts: Roman law and institutions, Christianity, and the post-Roman society that grew up in the western half of the broad Roman possessions. These three were the forces that made the next great epoch in European history, the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages saw a new and vigorous life come into the civilization of Europe, the influence of which was so vital that men now are much more truly the children of the me-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

dieval times than they are of old Rome. Our belief that all men are brothers is strengthened by seeing the unity of that age in what has been called 'The Christian Republic of the Middle Ages.' The prevailing spirit of the time approached the ideal expressed by St. Augustine—the ideal of a peace which is "the tranquillity of order."

The Middle Ages began with the shifting of populations and the bringing of many peoples within the orbit of civilization and Christianity through the work of the monasteries. As years moved on, men came to think of themselves as parts of an organized life—the social organism—where everyone had his rights and his duties regarding all others, and where the Church led the way and enforced the respect of man for man. This trust and respect created the democratic spirit, so dependent on a recognition of the importance of the individual soul. On the other hand the democracy of guild and charter gave men an opportunity to rise in wealth and power, and in the Renaissance period individualism supplanted the social outlook. The unity was broken in the sixteenth-century revolutions.

Meanwhile energetic Europeans found the New World, and sailed the coasts of Asia and Africa. Thither they sought to transplant the Old World way of living. Spain and Portugal transmitted the medieval culture, England the modern life, France a mixture of both. In time American civilization became mature enough to cut away from the parent nations and begin an independent existence, though it never separated itself from the European mode of thought and typical organization of life.

THE SCOPE AND MEANING OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE

The mother countries now went through a rapid development of the Renaissance forces. In the modern era inventions and expansions brought wealth, dynastic possessions, and rivalries. The rising secularist culture protested against medieval solidarity. Men were led on through private judgment, through Calvinistic prudence and energy, to 'enlightenment' and revolution and to the nineteenth-century exaltation of human power and human control over the forces of nature. Independence suggested the absence of a world judge, and the nations battled for their advantage in the terrible World War. Its aftermath is with us today.

1. History is the record of the life of mankind. To a student it answers the questions: Who did what? When? Where? and Why? It is a story. It is also a study, "the science of the development of men in their activities as social beings." It is not, however, anthropology (the study of man's origins) nor ethnology (the study of the development of primitive societies). History begins where human evidence begins, and the evidence means documents, monuments, tradition. The times before that point are called prehistory.

2. History has been written in the right way and in the wrong way. The right way is fair, honest, complete, scientific. The wrong way rests on the pure assumption, unproven and really disproven by events, that man has experienced a constant upward climb called 'progress.' So write H. G. Wells and the entire evolutionary school. Actually, the social or group story follows the graph of individual life, from birth through growth and maturity to old age and death. Yet the human race and human culture do not entirely die, but rather experience great waves of triumph and depression in all mat-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ters of life. Thus England once had the Roman culture, lost it, and later enjoyed a 'second civilization.' The true graph is the sine curve. There is constant momentum, sometimes retarded, sometimes heightened in acceleration, always moving on in the life that was implanted by the Giver of Life.

3. Hence the student will beware of false assumptions in reading history:

a) That early men were all savages. We have no knowledge whatever of this as a fact. We do know that all cultures have been modified by contact with other cultures, either conquering or conquered, since the first days of history. We also know that people improve their culture, as they may also degrade it, by deliberate action.

b) That history is a constantly ascending progress. On this point compare the Greeks of 479 B. C. with those of 338 B. C., the Irish of 548 with those of 1848, the Augustan Age with the Dark Ages, changes from monotheism to polytheism with changes from polytheism to monotheism. The culture graph of any people will check the progress theory, and enable one to understand better the course of history.

4. History is scientific in gathering and studying its evidence and in composing its story. The reader should learn to distinguish scientific writing from a prejudiced presentation of fact. Emotion clouds thinking and shows itself in ignorance or bias. The Encyclopedists, the Centuriators, Gibbon, Las Casas, wrote *against* things that they wanted to destroy. Their history is to that extent unsound.

One who wishes to become a student of history will begin to take notes—so carefully that he need not recopy them. He will quickly make a start in reading, to gain a mastery over this highly interesting field.

THE SCOPE AND MEANING OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE

REQUIRED READING

- Thompson-Palm-Van Nostrand, *European Civilization*. 1939, I-10
Boak-Hyman-Slosson, *Growth of European Civilization*. 1938, I, 5-8
Ferguson-Bruun, *Survey of European Civilization*. 1939, I, v-vii; 5-19
Watts, *History of Civilization*. 1939, I, vii-viii (Introd.)
(These reference books will be cited hereafter, respectively, as T-P-V, B-H-S,
F-B, W.)

SUGGESTED READING

- Bryce, J. "Introduction" to H. F. Helmolt, *History of the World*. New York,
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CHAPTER II

Forerunners of European Civilization

SCIENTISTS in paleontology, archeology, and anthropology hold that Europe came to be inhabited later than its southeastern neighbors. Europe is geographically the northwest corner of the Asiatic mass. Its central mountain chain runs somewhat disconnectedly from southwest to northeast. The recession of the glaciers changed its climate and fixed its present topography. Climate is known to influence vegetable, animal, and human life, but it does not, as Helmolt once maintained, determine human action. Because Europe has produced the dominant human type, it is considered the place most favorable for human existence and for civilization.

There is no historical record of the beginning of the human race, for no human beings witnessed the event, and guesses have no value for the scientific historian. The one Witness has left a revealed account in Holy Scripture. History, which is based on human documents, finds no records until after man had been on this globe for some centuries. Perhaps 20,000 years elapsed before the time of our earliest evidence. The European area itself was opened to human life sometime about 7000 b. c., when the glaciers receded from the Continent.

The moment of the first recorded evidence, so writes Barnes, finds men "physically and mentally in no way inferior to or in any fundamental respect different from the mod-

FORERUNNERS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ern civilized man." Undoubtedly groups of men are known to have become civilized after a previous state of savagery; that is, they have *grown in control over themselves and over their environment*, both of nature and of other men. And yet anthropologists do not find an absolute beginning of civilization. It simply existed among certain peoples, ready to be diffused to the rest of men. In this connection 'culture' when used by historians means a way of living and civilization is a refined culture. It should be noted that man and cultures are modified by racial strains, by environment and climate, by function and occupation and economic factors, by psychological stress, by tradition, and lastly by deliberately chosen modifications of life.

1. The Tertiary Age of the earth was a paradise of nature's products. That age merged into our Quaternary Age as eruptions and glacial action changed the surface of the earth. Man now appeared, and the best evidence finds him first in Asia Minor. The prehistoric men—hunters and nomads whose records have perished—are called Stone Age men. The protohistoric men—villagers and agriculturalists—were the men of the Metal Age. The use of clothing, fire, and weapons was discovered early, and men prepared for the conquest of nature. The shifting of the glaciers led to a shift in the prehistoric population. Thus, in the once cool and moist Tigris-Euphrates valley of Mesopotamia, there were the Painted Pottery Groups. The Magdalenian culture left relics in the caves of the Pyrenees that testify to civilized living. Evidence of the Lake Dwellers' culture survives in Switzerland and along the Danube.

2. The civilizations of western Asia were contemporary with

HISTORY OF EUROPE

those along the Nile. Both river civilizations, with their city-states, developed from original temple cities. Their life revolved around religious ideas and religious persons; their builders built to foster divine worship or to protect it against warring enemies. A rapid view finds the inventors of the wheel, the Sumerians, dominant in Babylonia or Mesopotamia about 3800 B. C. Ten centuries later they fell before Sargon of Agada and the Semites. The Code of Hammurabi (2185 B. C.) illustrates life there in the time shortly before Abraham. About 1250 B. C. the Assyrian Empire centered at Nineveh, famous for its bricks and its cuneiform writing. The Hittites to the westward flourished from 1800 B. C. to 1200 B. C. The final Babylonian Empire gave way to the Persians in 538 B. C., an event marked by the famous Mane-Thecel-Phares prophecy of Daniel.

The Hebrews are the miracle of history. A small island among empires hostile to their culture, they preserved monotheism and a sense of their national unity and messianic destiny. Abraham was one of the chieftains who about 1900 B. C. brought their forbears westward from Ur of the Chaldees. Latterly an inferior group in Egypt, they were led by Moses into Palestine about 1500 B. C. The writing of the Bible begins at this date. David was king four centuries later. In 586 B. C. Nabuchodonosor forced them into the Babylonian captivity, whence they emerged to battle valiantly for freedom and to await the Messias. The world is indebted to their law, education, music, and religious thought. In A. D. 69 they were overcome by the Roman general Titus and dispersed.

The Phoenicians were a maritime, commercial people who founded Tyre about 1300 B. C. They invented our alphabet and laid the foundations of our maritime law. Dominating Mediterranean trade, in 850 B. C. they built the famous Car-

FORERUNNERS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

thage. The people of India and China contributed nothing tangible to Europe in olden days. They are omitted from this survey.

3. The other great river civilization was Egypt, occupying the lower 300 miles of the Nile, particularly the triangular delta whose base extends for 150 miles along the Mediterranean. Egypt worshipped, and was ruled by, a god-king, a system that passed down through Alexander to imperial Rome. Other gods of nature were cultivated, and the Egyptians were noted for their reverence toward the deities and for their strong moral sense. Time was reckoned from the movement of the star Sothis, which rose with the sun on the day that marked the climax of the annual flood and repeated the phenomenon 365 days later. Dates were counted from the appropriate year of a royal reign. It must be noted, however, that "every date before 893 b. c., the oldest exact Assyrian record, is calculated on incomplete and inaccurate data." The Egyptians wrote on papyrus, clay, stone, metal, and parchment. Before 3000 b. c. they developed writing from word signs to syllable signs. The Phoenicians replaced syllable signs with consonant signs; the Greeks later added vowels.

Of the social classes in Egypt the peasant farmers were the strong support of the State. Life was directed by the officials, nobles, and priests. The landlords were the nobles. All the land, all the people, were theoretically owned by the all-knowing, all-powerful king. From 4000 b. c. to A. D. 200 the kingdom was independent. Thirty dynasties are numbered by historians after the union of the Delta, the Lower Nile, and the Upper Nile regions into one state in 3300 b. c. The tombs of these kings are magnificent. The finest of these,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

that of Tut-anhk-amun, was unearthed by Carter in 1922. From 1500 B. C. onward, an imperial policy ruled subject Cyprus, Syria as far as the Euphrates, and the Hittite kingdom, until in 1276 B. C. the Hittites by treaty received recognition as an equal power. Shortly afterward Egypt receded to the limits of the Nile valley. This society was marked by its intellectual interests, its moral rectitude, and its technical skill. There still exist excellent examples of its work in building, embalming, engineering, and astronomy. It was from Egypt that civilization spread northward across the Mediterranean to Crete and Greece.

REQUIRED READING

T-P-V, 16-39	F-B, I, 20-38
B-H-S, I, 8-39	W, I, xxvii-xxxvii

SUGGESTED READING

- The Bible: Exodus, Ecclesiastes, Job, Machabees
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CHAPTER III

The Making of Greece

THE history of Europe advanced by slow and gradual steps. There were no leaps in the process. There were, however, periods of striking development, and the first of these took place when the forerunners of European civilization came into contact with the Greeks. Halfway across the Mediterranean from Egypt lay Crete, "the cradle of Europe," which enjoyed a remarkable culture from 3000 B. C. to 1400 B. C. In its capital, Cnossos, the great king Minos left a record of grandeur, of wealth, of art in jewelry and decorative building, and an apparently well-developed language that is still undeciphered. The Achaeans conquered the Cretans about 1400 B. C.

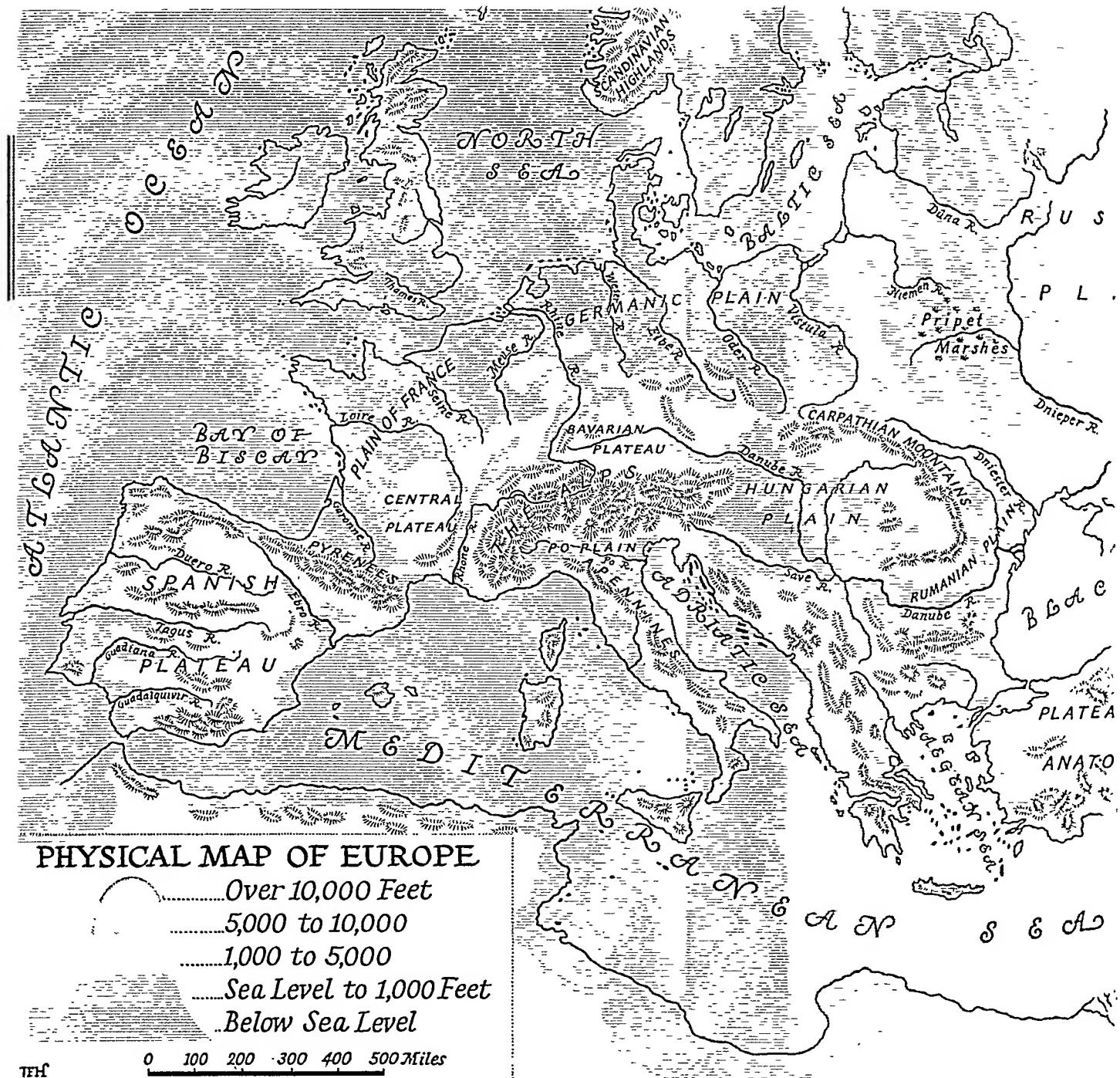
To the Egyptians these Greeks were the barbarians of the north. They lived on the peninsula and the Ionian Isles, and very early they built colonies on the Aegean coasts of Asia Minor. Their origin is traced to the Alpine men, with the broad forehead and vivacious temperament, who came down through the Balkans and intermingled with the Achaeans of the Peloponnesus. Later the Dorians of the north invaded the land. This racial compound is mentioned in Egyptian records which tell of 'Luka,' or the Lacedemonians who overthrew Ilion. They were Indo-Europeans of the Aryan language group. They used the horse and the wheel in remote times.

The Greeks had a remarkable balance of temperament, to-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

gether with the power to assimilate and to create new institutions. From Asia Minor and Crete they learned much, through the contacts of trade and travel, of war or colonization; but it was their environment and their particular character and talent that gave them a special moderation and grace in art and living. They knew how to work for limited objectives, yet in this work they were satisfied only with perfection. Despising wealth, they sought beauty and harmony of life. In time they came to produce the finest intellectual and artistic standards of antiquity. As they went forward they molded a pattern of democracy that has ever since sharply separated European civilization from its Asiatic counterpart. Their successors, the Romans, taught the world the lesson of corporate organization. It was the achievement of the Greeks to fashion the models of thought and art for all times.

i. The *Iliad* of Homer describes the Trojan War (1194-1184 B.C.) against Hittite Ilion and the Phrygian Confederation. Schliemann found nine successive cities built on the site of old Troy. The epic story of this warfare pictures the Greeks as a gathering of Ionians, Thessalians, and Indo-Europeans of other lesser territories. They were not Orientals with a priest-king, but free peoples who followed their kings in war as voluntarily as they made their laws in peace. Their gods were thought to intervene in human affairs, yet these deities were not inexorable tyrants but kindly preternatural beings. It was only later that they came to believe in fate as the ruler of human life. They were warriors and agriculturalists, with civilized ideas of loyalty, pity, friendship, and parental devotion. The poetry of the *Iliad* is unsurpassed. It is the first



THE MAKING OF GREECE

surviving specimen of European speech, and possibly the finest.

2. Zimmern describes the Greek commonwealth as it was in the fifth century. Chief among its cities were Athens, Sparta, Corinth, and afterwards Pella in Macedon. Each city grew as a separate state. Religion motivated patriotism but not politics. Gods were fashioned to represent dominant ideas, such as Zeus for power, and Athena for wisdom. Special gods protected each city; the mediator Apollo, for example, protected Mycenae. Oracles spoke at Delphi and elsewhere. Religion inspired the Pan-Hellenic Union and the Olympic games, both of which began in 776 b. c. When Aristotle studied the Grecian constitutions to devise a model government for Alexander, he found that in more than one thousand city-states 80 per cent of the people were in slavery. The free men loved politics. They spent a large part of their days out-of-doors, conversing, acting as jurors, attending the theaters, or working at their trades. They improved their political systems to meet their needs, though Sparta, fearful of deterioration in imitating others, resisted any change in her government.

3. Their crucial struggle came in the wars against Persia. The fighting started simultaneously in Asia Minor and at Syracuse in Sicily, against Carthage, an ally of Persia. In Lydia the Athenians gave their help in a rebellion against Darius, the son of the Xerxes who had conquered Lydia. Darius came to Miletus and stamped out the revolt mercilessly. He then set out to subjugate Athens. At Marathon, in 490 b. c., nine thousand Athenians overcame the multitude of Darius. His son Xerxes resumed the attack in 480 b. c. at Thermopylae and Salamis. Led by Themistocles and Miltiades, the Greeks won a great victory, thus insuring Europe

HISTORY OF EUROPE

against Asiatic lordship. Disunion followed, as thirty-one of the larger Grecian cities—Sparta staying apart—met in the Congress of Corinth to devise a federation. In the interval Athens and Eretria were alone in facing the last Persian effort. With the aid of a few Spartans they won the final battle of Platea in 479 b. c. Greece then began a free existence. Athens grew from a city-state into an empire, the leader of the peninsula in wealth, sea power, and prestige.

4. The golden age of Greece was the marvelous Age of Pericles. In that thirty years (460-430 b. c.) the Greeks alone produced more wonderful works of the human mind than the entire world has developed in any similar period. The epoch is brilliantly described in the famous funeral oration which the historian Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles. The latter (490-425 b. c.) was the son of a naval officer who had taken a leading part in the defeat of Xerxes at Mycale. Instructed in music by Damon, in dialectic by Zeno, and in philosophy by Anaxagoras, Pericles practiced law until he was elected chief magistrate of Athens in 460 b. c.

Once in office, he gave immediate attention to the renewal of the attack on Persia, in aid of his allies in Egypt and Cyprus. Help was next sent to the Megarians in their defense against Corinth and Sparta. In 445 b. c. he concluded a thirty-year truce with Sparta and then gave his entire time to the perfecting of his own city. The Athenian naval supremacy and the Ionian Empire were consolidated. Athens itself became truly self-governing, and Pericles later boasted that he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning because of any tyranny of his own. He originated the practice of payment from the state treasury for all state services. Thus he insured integrity and effective performance of duty on the

THE MAKING OF GREECE

part of generals and jurymen, local peace officers, colonial officers, the navy, and the 'boule,' or legislature. He endeavored to educate the whole community to political wisdom by giving them a share in the government, to train their esthetic powers by making accessible the best drama and music. He was the friend and patron of artists. Among his intimates were Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Phidias, the guiding spirit in the building of the Parthenon and the creator of the immortal "Zeus." Socrates was a contemporary. In personal character he was a courageous military leader, a statesman of dignity and honor, a typical Greek, vivacious in thought and emotion, always restrained. He ranks with Aristotle and Alexander as the greatest of the Greeks.

5. The last years of Pericles were saddened by the Peloponnesian War (431-404 b. c.) and the beginning of decline in Athens. The war had been made inevitable by the constant opposition and bitter jealousy of Sparta and by her leadership of the enemies of Athens, and the fundamental divergences of their two cultures emphasized their differences. Trouble broke out when Megarian exports were refused in Athenian territory. In the ensuing argument Athens attacked Potidaea, and the war was on. Athenian wealth won the first victories, but in time the persistence of Sparta and the treason of the exile Alcibiades combined to turn the tide of battle. Persia then joined Sparta, and in 404 b. c. the sea battle of Aegospotami put an end to Athenian power. The idealism of Pericles died out, and demagogues overthrew the democratic constitution.

REQUIRED READING

T-P-V, 68-80
B-H-S, I, 40-58

F-B, I, 39-61
W, I, 1-41; 54-74

HISTORY OF EUROPE

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CHAPTER IV

The Legacy of Alexander the Great

THE culture of Greece reached its peak in the art, philosophy, mathematics, literature, and democratic character of life in the fifth century before Christ. This basically agricultural people had not yet forsaken its roots in the soil and turned entirely to urban interests. The change came after the time of Pericles, and it took an unlooked-for direction. During the fourth century the age of freedom and intellectual grandeur gave way to another grandeur, the grandeur of empire. This imperial expansion submerged the democracy of domestic politics. On the other hand it brought the benefit of Greek culture to all parts of the Western World. Alexander, the agent of this imperialism, died young at the height of his conquests. His influence has lasted to our own times. The subject peoples transmitted their thoughts and manners to their new lords, and through them to the later Rome.

The celebrated "De Corona" of Demosthenes exhibits Athens as it was in the fourth century, and the picture is true of most of old Greece. Political greed had replaced Periclean patriotism. Party bickerings, sophisms, official sinecures, unfair courts of law, slavery, and disloyalty marked the life of the city-state. Athenians could not unite to save their state from servitude to the Macedonian. The other city-states continued their separate rivalries after the conquest of Philip. Imperial victory brought wealth, and this wealth un-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

dermined the nobility of Greek ideals and the stamina of Grecian character. Greece fell an easy prey to the next conquering army, the army of the Romans.

1. Macedon was a mountain kingdom north of Thessaly. During the reign of Philip II (359-336 b.c.) this formerly barbarous people became a nation. Philip made his capital, Pella, a rich city in a highly centralized monarchy. With his famous Macedonian phalanx he mastered Thessaly. In 338 b.c., at Chaeronea, he defeated the Theban and Athenian armies. All Greece now came under his control. Then, on the eve of an expedition to punish Persia, he died by assassination. To his son was left the execution of his plan and the building of a great empire.

2. Alexander the Great (356-323 b.c.), the son of Philip and Olympias, united the body of Macedon with the soul of Greece. Educated by his court experience and by the teaching of Aristotle of Stagira (384-322 b.c.), he became an adept in the art of political organization. He was a youth of medium height, athletic frame, and ruddy-white complexion. His glistening eyes and lion's mane of hair suggested his high physical courage and impulsive energy. Continent and imaginative, he was a dreamer of tremendous practical capability. In the first year of his reign he defeated all rival claimants to the throne. Thebes was subdued and burned, Thrace reclaimed from rebellion, the rest of Greece received in submission. Then, as 'The Son of Achilles,' he turned to Asia, and to world renown.

With a small, mobile army Alexander conquered Asia Minor and Syria, Egypt and Persia, and crossed the Khyber Pass into India. Everywhere he granted toleration of local

THE LEGACY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

customs. His idea was an empire coterminous with the world, the citizens all equal, the sovereign endowed with divine honors as their supreme benefactor. The imperial government retained all the former local territorial divisions, ruled in the West by Macedonian generals and in the East by Orientals. Colonies were planted as fusion centers throughout the empire. Returning to Mesopotamia for the organization of his conquests, Alexander received divine honors. In a few short months he died, the victim of exhaustion, drink, and fever.

The more than seventy Hellenic cities that were founded in the oriental part of the empire were populated in a colonial system new to the Greeks. Of old each city-state had sent out plantations of men to build up subject cities, some in Asia Minor, some in Italy and even as far away as Marseilles. Alexander drew mixed groups from various cities and villages of Greece. He personally supervised every one of them. East and West were meant to mingle and become a unity. Attic silver coinage was made universal and uniform. The flow of trade brought an exchange of ideas, Hellenizing the East, orientalizing the West, binding together for nine centuries thereafter all the land from the Adriatic to the Euphrates. Wherever he conquered he introduced the Greek language and literature, the architecture, mathematics, and philosophy of his native land. The Hellenistic culture thus formed was his greatest gift to posterity.

3. The succession after Alexander was settled by the generals. The Ptolemies ruled Egypt, the Seleucids Syria. In Macedon the descendants of Antigonus took the throne. Other officers obtained the minor states. Syria alone pursued the Alexandrian ideals and policies. Macedon was finally ruined by Philip V (221-179 b. c.). As an ally of Hannibal, the kingdom

HISTORY OF EUROPE

fell before the power of Rome, in the war that made Rome the mistress of the world.

4. The changes wrought by Alexander were momentous. The god-king idea destroyed democracy and put an end to the old classes. New classes were created—the soldiers, the royal administrators, the sacred royal family, the citizens of the royal capital. Antioch, Alexandria, and Rhodes now became thriving commercial centers. The wealth of the former Persian kings was made to support a new economy for the new kings, with their royal monopolies, royal merchantmen, estates, and industries. Among the lower classes poverty and want were widespread, and the decline of the Alexandrian Empire in the second century before Christ was due as much to economic poverty as to the ravages of the Roman conquest. Most important, the creation of the empire shifted the center of Greek life from the peninsula to another continent. Athens and her sister city-states found their riches and intellectual splendor matched by Pergamum, Rhodes, Antioch, and Alexandria. This diffusion of Hellenistic culture laid the ground for the later grandeur of the Roman Empire.

The Attic language came into universal use, but in place of the earlier creative writing, criticism and commentaries were now the rule. The first Greek grammar was published. Grecian teachers instructed ambitious oriental youth. The library and museum of Alexandria became famous. Science profited from the wealth of new facts which the imperial union made a common possession. Notable advances were made in arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and surgery. The oriental gods were widely cultivated, especially Magna Mater, Mithras, and Serapis. Thoughtful men, however, soon abandoned these esoteric cults with their cloudy logic in favor of

THE LEGACY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

philosophy as a rule of life, and Stoicism was born. Through the processes outlined above, the thinkers of Egypt, Syria, and Macedon became in many ways the teachers of the Romans. It is now time to turn to that great people in the West.

REQUIRED READING

T-P-V, 81-92 (or the two <i>Books of Machabees</i>)	F-B, I, 62-76
B-H-S, I, 59-72	W, I, 41-53; 75-83

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CHAPTER V

Rome Arises

ROME fixed the character of European culture. As the great assimilator and organizer of antiquity, this remarkable people formed a permanent pattern for the society of the Western World. By a series of constructive steps the city became a state, the capital of the peninsula, the ruler of the Mediterranean, the mistress of the world. Typical institutions were produced in politics and social life. The Greek concept of individual right was stabilized in the Roman system of justice, law, and order. The Roman language became the parent of the western European speech. Roman rule protected the literature, art, and philosophy of Greece from destruction. Roman equity and justice educated all posterity in the principles of government. Roman wisdom and power built the scheme of European provincial division, and held the West in control until these provinces developed into independent peoples. Finally the supreme Roman confidence in perpetuity—*Ave Roma immortalis!*—came down as a heritage to all her European offspring.

It should be noted that the Roman republic fashioned all the elements of Roman culture, except for the concept of absolutism that came with the later empire. Greece had discovered the philosophy and the law of individual liberty, but her corporate organization was short-lived. Rome worked out the way for a city-state republic to expand and to gather

ROME ARISES

other peoples under its leadership, in good will and with a free field for cultural development, until many individuals were united in a cosmopolitan though stable society. The Greeks loved the joy of living, and knowledge, art, philosophy, and beauty. Rome was marked by serenity, law, majesty, and power. Romans were reverential, with a signal respect for honor and virtue in domestic and public life.

The reader will observe that, though this course makes many points clear in the narrative of history, it will not explain all the connections of cause and effect. Such completeness is impossible. Much we do not know, and we should not hesitate to admit it. The man for whom there is no mystery in life will find himself lacking in enthusiasm for anything but his own views and purposes. He will be wanting in interest in new knowledge, perhaps in intellectual humility, possibly in intellectual honesty which always knows how to say, "I do not know."

1. Italy is a six-hundred-mile peninsula jutting down into the sea between Spain and Asia, with the Alps as its northern palisade. The Apennines form a backbone for the peninsula—their hills gently sloping arable or pasture land, well-watered, the western section very fertile. The coastline has few good harbors. The northeastern valley of the Po is a rich agricultural region. The early inhabitants of this long, thin country were primitive short and dark men resembling the Berbers of today, with tools of flint and stone and houses made of grass. About 2000 B.C. a race came down over the Alps from the Lake Dweller region of Switzerland. These were the agriculturalists, Terramare men. Some of them, the Bologna group, in the Iron Age built strong cities and

HISTORY OF EUROPE

drove the primitives to Sicily. Their implements show contact with Crete. At the dawn of recorded history they formed the Latin League, along the Tiber, among the Sabines and Samnites, in Umbria, and the Po valley. Separated from them were the Etruscans, overseas immigrants from Asia Minor who took Tuscany, the upper Po country, and Campania, skipping Latium. (Cicero's Etruscans were a mixture of this people and of conquered Italians.) Their language is undeciphered, though legend and archeology show them as carriers of seventh-century Greek ideas, arts, and crafts. Lastly there were the Greek colonies, planted between 800 b.c. and 500 b.c. The Euboeans built on the Bay of Naples, at Cumae, and along the Sicilian Straits. The Dorians held Tarentum and Syracuse. Ionians settled at Massilia, or Marseilles. These colonists put the home-loving Latins into touch with the outside world and blocked the northward push of the Carthaginians.

2. The *Aeneid* recounts the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome. Aeneas, son of Priam, fleeing that terrible night of destruction, sailed west with his family to Carthage and then to Latium. The poet speaks of the men who lived in Latium when Aeneas arrived. Who were they? Graves in the Roman Forum and on the hills nearby suggest that villages existed there as early as 1000 b.c. The accepted date of 753 b.c. is legendary, although Livy, Cicero, and the public documents uniformly mention that year as the foundation point in Roman history. Archeology shows that a vital change occurred about 600 b.c., when an invading group, either Etruscans or Trojan exiles, built a city and a civilization among the Latins, and after that year ruled them for a century. The seven kings named by Livy are probably historical. Their names are Et-

ROME ARISES

ruscan: the fabled Romulus, who gave his name to the city, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus. They are thought to have come to the site from the southeast, bent on conquest. Greek pottery dug from below the ruins dates the city wall at about 600 b. c. After this date other towns, fortified against Etruscan conquest, grew into the city-states of Ardea, Velitrae, Aricia, Tibur, and Praeneste. The old Latin League lapsed.

Before the coming of the Etruscans there were thirty related groups or brotherhoods, called *curiae*, in three separate villages. They acted together for military and administrative purposes, electing a magistrate annually. The fathers of families sat in a senate of elders as advisers to this magistrate. Once a year the people sacrificed to Jupiter on the Alban heights. Other deities honored were Saturnus, Mars, Venus, Diana, Robigus, Terminus, and the Lares. From the drainage canals cut through the solid tuff for miles westward toward the sea archeologists conclude that the Etruscan conquest brought a division of the people into serfs and masters. Burial mounds show the wealth of the Etruscans and the jewelry and implements imported from Phoenicia, Egypt, and Greece. Their temples were decorated by Greek artists. Rome, the center of their power, grew into a large trading city, commanding the roads crossing the Tiber and the salt flats to the westward. The Etruscans introduced the oriental haruspices and images of gods. They likewise organized the Servian army, in which the 1,800 wealthiest men made up the cavalry. The first class of citizens furnished eighty centuries (8,000 men) of those who could provide heavy armor for the first line. The second, third, and fourth furnished 20 centuries each, the fifth 30, the poor class only 5—in all, 193 cen-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

turies. By 509 b. c., when the population had reached 400,000, a revolution was brought on through the tyranny of the last king. The war organization had produced a martial spirit, and the Etruscan leadership was overthrown. The final battle of Lake Regillus (496 b. c.) drove the Etruscans out forever.

The system of centuries provided a scheme for rating the classes according to wealth in the choosing of the new assembly called the Comitia Centuriata. As soldier life was held a duty and a privilege of the best men, so too the best men, or patricians, would now exert most influence in elections and in the making of laws. Not till the fourth century were soldiers to receive the *stipendium*. The Republic began as a timocratic state. Respect for honorable men found its parallel in the patriarchal Roman family. The father controlled the ideals and the conduct of all, the wife, the sons and daughters, the slaves, as also the property, in a *patria potestas* that resembled sovereignty. The father was affectionate and strict in moral conduct. The wife was accorded dignity and authority. Marriage was inviolate. Loyalty to family matched respect for tradition in keeping family estates intact, in reverence toward ancestors and senatorial rule, and in the careful upbringing of children.

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B-H-S, I, 73-80

F-B, I, 77-79
W, I, 84-92

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CHAPTER VI

Republican Rome

THE typical Roman culture that would later spread to all of western Europe was fashioned during the republican period. The Republic formed the spirit of Rome. The Empire expanded and then dissipated that spirit. During the fifth and fourth centuries the characteristic institutions took form. In the third and second centuries the city-state was elevated to supremacy among western powers. It was an era when great men served their country. Later on, in the Empire, the country would serve the great man.

The city-state built up its government by gradual processes. Polybius, writing in 140 B. C., copied a treaty made with Carthage in 509 B. C. and dated the first year of the Republic. The treaty shows that Etruscan Rome had ruled most of Latium as far as Terracina, and that some towns like Tusculum were still independent Etruscan princedoms. In the southern half of Latium the peaceful agriculturalists continued the old democratic League. Rome itself ruled over some three hundred square miles. Legislation began in the Comitia, each class having one vote. Two annually elected consuls acted as magistrates, as commanders in war, and as executives and judges in peace. Each could veto the other. Only patricians held office. The title *rex* was kept for the *pontifex maximus*, or supervisor of religion. Three hundred distinguished elders were chosen by the consuls to serve in the Senate for life, and

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the Senate was given veto power over all Comitia bills. Patricians were descendants of these original senators. *Patres conscripti* were rich and noted plebeians admitted to the Senate. The propertyless plebeians could not vote, marry into patrician families, hold office, nor appeal criminal cases.

The growth of the constitution commenced in 494 B. C., when the mistreated plebeians, summoned to join the army, seceded to the Sacred Mount. The consuls and Senate, to quell the dissension, gave them the right to two annually elected plebeian tribunes (later five, finally ten) to plead for them in cases of unjust arrest. These tribunes were inviolable within the city walls. To choose them the plebeians organized the Comitia Tributa, embracing four city wards and seventeen in the country. In 451 B. C. the centuriate assembly voted for a general revision of the law, and the *decemviri* were chosen to replace the annual consuls for one year, so that they might study foreign customs and codify Roman law. They traveled to Athens and other Mediterranean cities and brought back many fine legal ideas. The results were put up in the Forum in the famous Twelve Tables—statutes regulating contracts, official powers, and procedure in trial for crime and injustice, and enforcing throughout the three fundamental Roman concepts: live honestly, harm nobody, give everyone his due. After 443 B. C. *censores* drew up important civil lists. The Licinian-Sextian reforms of 367 B. C. provided one plebeian consul, annually chosen, and likewise the *praetores* to manage judicial affairs and the *aediles* to supervise public works. The Publilian Law of 339 B. C. gave referendum rights to the Comitia Tributa. By 300 B. C. the plebe-

REPUBLICAN ROME

ians had won complete legal, political, social, and religious equality with the patricians. The constitution embodied the principle of divided sovereignty in its consuls, Senate, and Comitia:

The organization of Italy began when in 493 B.C. the Latin League made a treaty with the Romans for peace and mutual respect of sovereignty and of contracts. In 387 B.C. the Gauls sacked Rome. Other enemies attacked the city, and soon war was on with the Samnites, Latins, and in 281 B.C. with Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus. A mixture of force and moderation brought the Latin League to merge with the Roman Federation after 340 B.C. The nearby towns became *municipia* with full Roman citizenship, though retaining their local control. Less friendly towns received the *civitas sine suffragio*, or half-citizenship. Town colonies were built on the coast, as at Antium with its three hundred transplanted Romans. Distant towns were separately allied to Rome. All of these peoples remained loyal in the great Punic wars because Rome showed liberality and prudence in dealing with them and respected their rights.

1. Carthage was a Phoenician city of enterprising traders, founded in 850 B.C. on the African coast opposite Sicily. In 264 B.C. this oriental and imperial city contrasted sharply with democratic Rome, which had the reputation of fighting no wars except in self-defense. Its commerce covered the Mediterranean; its ships sailed beyond Gibraltar to England and West Africa. Shutting off all other shipping from the seas, the Carthaginians thus offended Marseilles, Grecian Syracuse, and Rome. The First Punic War (264-241 B.C.) found Rome, protector of the weak and strength of the Fed-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

eration, accepting an invitation to aid the Sicilian Mamertines, who were in fear of Carthage. Land and sea battles alternated till Carthage, on the verge of revolution, made peace and surrendered 3,200 talents together with all claims to Sicily. Rome, following the example of Alexander, adopted the oriental custom by claiming all Sicilian lands for exploitation. Taxes were farmed out, and Sicily became the Roman granary. A *praetor* was placed there annually to exercise consular powers. Although King Hiero of Syracuse induced the Romans to foster an interest in literature and art, nevertheless the governing of this weak province made the Romans somewhat lordly and insolent. In 238 B.C., under a pretext of self-defense, Rome acquired Sardinia and Corsica. Carthage resented this act and its military party vowed revenge. Hamilcar Barca took an army to conquer Spain, and there he trained a large native force. The trade of Grecian Marseilles was deflected to Carthaginian ports. Rome meanwhile distributed the conquered Ager Gallicus of the north to war veterans, and after another Gallic war colonies were planted at Cremona and Placentia on the Po. Curbing the Adriatic pirates led to the conquest of Illyrian Teuta and the reception of Corcyra, Apollonia, and Epidamnus under Roman protection. By this move Macedon was offended and driven into an alliance with Carthage.

2. The Second Punic War (218-202 B.C.) arose in Spain, where the remarkable Hannibal was preparing to carry out the plan of his father for the destruction of Rome. In the spring of 218 B.C. he began his famous march from Saguntum, over the Ebro, past the Pyrenees, across lower France, and through the high passes of the Alps. The war raged in Italy for sixteen years, and but for the loyalty of the allies

REPUBLICAN ROME

Rome might have crumbled. At last Cornelius Scipio Africanus took the fighting into Africa. Hannibal, following him, was utterly routed at Zama. Carthage surrendered, became an ally of Rome, and saw her rival made the mistress of the West. The effects on Rome were ominous. Italy below Beneventum lay in ruins. To supply public needs, rich Romans began to rent large farms and to man them with captive slaves. The war had made the Senate supreme; its *senatus consulta*, or decrees, accepted as law; its administrative and legislative powers unchallenged. The Federation died out and Rome emerged as the judge and ruler of Italy. Her people grew confident in their destiny. Genuine literary activity brought forward the names of Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, and Fabius Pictor.

3. The final republican wars gave Rome an empire. Macedonia had sent mercenaries to Hannibal and had retaken the Illyrian allies. Grecian city-states now asked Rome for help against Philip V, and commercial treaties were made with Athens, Rhodes, and Pergamum. Another appeal came to Rome from Egyptian Ptolemy, as Philip V of Macedonia and Antiochus of Syria sought to divide all his foreign possessions. Flamininus crushed Philip V at Cynocephalae in 197 b.c., and Antiochus III at Thermopylae five years later. Scipio was victorious at Magnesia, Asia Minor, in 190 b.c. Again Macedonia, under Perseus, fomented trouble in Greece, only to be beaten at Pydna in 168 b.c. In 146 b.c. Rome, the 'protector' of the Achaean League, crushed rebellious Corinth and destroyed the city as a lesson to killers of envoys. Restless Carthage attacked Masinissa, an ally of Rome, and the demand of old Cato for the destruction of Carthage was fulfilled in the same year. The three great provinces of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Syria, Africa, and Spain were created as a result of these republican wars.

REQUIRED READING

T-P-V, 105-115	F-B, I, 80-84
B-H-S, I, 84-97	W, I, 92-99

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CHAPTER VII

Rome in Transition

IN THE interval between the Punic wars and the Battle of Actium a momentous change came over Rome. The Republic had acquired an empire, and the leaders gradually ceased to be republicans. Government developed from a city-state system to a scheme of worldwide control. Citizens of a comparatively poor city became immensely wealthy. Grandeur of concept in building, art, and literature accompanied the turbulent growth of power. Romans mastered the situation in arms and in law, but they fell short of mastery in morals and humanity. Civil office combined with military power enabled ambitious individuals to violate the constitution, to bring on revolt, to dissolve democracy, and to create monarchical rule. The period from the Gracchi to Julius Caesar transformed the Roman state. Once more, men learned that war and militarism may change a republic into an empire. In the Republic men were free to direct their personal lives, to develop their natural powers, and to resist oppression of their rights regarding life, family, business, education, and religion. The coming of oriental tyranny brought a domination of the many through exploitation by the sovereign. Occidental democracy, with its freedom of the many and its control through representative government, fell apart under the stress of imperialism.

As a result of the wars the three provinces of Spain, Syria, and Africa were created, and a hegemony was established

HISTORY OF EUROPE

over all Italy. Treaties for mutual protection and the fostering of trade were made with Greece, Egypt, and the Aegean districts. The name of Rome inspired universal fear to offend, as it likewise engendered trust in the promise of the Roman people. The *pax Romana* meant an effective, unitary rule. The wars trained the armies and taught the generals the lessons of strategy and discipline. Wealth flowed in through tribute from the provinces and indemnities from the vanquished powers. New trade routes were opened to Syria and to Africa. Rome always studied the institutions of others, and, if they were found useful, accepted them. Her own government was now adapted to ruling an empire, yet with the same simple powers of consulate and Senate that had governed the old Republic. The Roman hearts beat with the confidence of those who dominated the Western World.

Notable weaknesses appeared in this time of change. The 'city mob' was perhaps the crucial difficulty. During the wars economic crises had led to social stress, and the propertyless converged from all parts to the city. This was particularly true in the Hannibal campaign. Within a few years the *panem-et-circenses* policy was adopted to placate them. Their voting strength was used by Clodius and Cataline to precipitate political violence.

Moral evils accompanied the increase in wealth and in pride of empire. Political abuses flourished. The new oriental gods and their liturgies debased the straightforward Roman spirit. Habits of leisure learned from the Greeks contributed in no small way to an increase of crime against family, labor, and property.

ROME IN TRANSITION

The grain-raising and cattle-raising *latifundia* of Italy tended to diminish respect for the manners of old Rome. The Roman workman was displaced by the great slave class that included the impoverished, the criminals, and the captives of war. The number of slaves increased with each battle and often brought remarkable men to this degraded state. Romans adopted an attitude of haughtiness toward these miserable people—a spirit that sometimes resulted in oppression and insult to their former allies. In the provinces, too, the farming of taxes to a taxgatherer caused reproach and induced extortion. The governors were often unprincipled. Far from the check of the city, they were able to enlarge their fortunes and to maintain private armies. No matter how criminal, they could not be impeached during their year of office.

The fatal symptom was the decline of the Roman yeomanry. Many yeomen died in war. Others left their farms and came into the city to engage in business, leasing their farms or manning them with slaves. Others again were impoverished by economic or natural calamity, and for the most part this dependable class died out. The change produced a momentous revolution in agriculture. Subsistence crops were abandoned in favor of money crops. When at last Italy raised too little grain, foreign wheat was imported, and the farmers who had formerly given stability to the government now lost all interest in helping toward the support of the State.

Great problems faced the Romans during this epoch: unemployment, the maintenance of law and order, the feeding

HISTORY OF EUROPE

of the destitute, the protection of individual rights, and the management of the new territories. The solutions that were offered brought military men to the front. In the process the Republic collapsed. It did not know how to subordinate the army to civil control.

1. The first steps in the transition were the Gracchan reform and revolt. Tiberius Gracchus, a tribune in 133 B.C., appealed for the redistribution of land and for senatorial restriction. A mob of Senate clients put him to death. His famous mother, Cornelia, mourned him and urged his brother Caius to follow his lead. In 124 B.C. Caius was tribune, and he aroused the Assembly by his pleading for corn laws, low prices for the poor, colonial lands for the homeless, and the collection of tithes from Asia. A *senatus consultum* gave the consuls dictatorial power to suppress the threatened insurrection. Caius died by suicide in 121 B.C.
2. Marius initiated the period of armed attack on the State. Consul seven times between 107 B.C. and 86 B.C., and illegally re-elected, he raised a volunteer army for his own purposes and thus made militarism possible in Rome. In 101 B.C. he defeated the Cimbri and Teutones in northeastern Italy and became a popular hero. He now reformed his army according to a long-service, professional standard. In the interest of the *equites*, the capitalists in politics, he protected the trade routes and acquired new provinces—all, it seems, with the aim of self-exaltation. The general Sulla returned from a campaign against the fierce Mithridates in 89 B.C. and found Marius and other enemies in control. A civil war followed. Victorious Sulla, now a dictator, changed the constitution by his regulations concerning provincial commands, the sen-

ROME IN TRANSITION

atorial office, and the judiciary. Still, he had in himself enough of the old Roman to give up office before he utterly ruined the State. Retiring to his magnificent villa at Naples, he died in 78 B.C. Pompey took up the role that Sulla cast off. Made general in the war against Mithridates in 67 B.C., he won great victories in the East. The Senate refused him the consulship in 60 B.C., and to thwart their will he formed a union with the rich Crassus and with Caesar, his lieutenant at Rome, for control of the government. He gained the consulship and made the capitalist Crassus a general with an eastern command. Caesar was likewise given the consulship in that same year, and afterwards a five-year proconsulship in Gaul. The three parted company soon afterward, and in the fateful year of 49 B.C. Pompey was sole consul.

3. Julius Caesar had been a *praetor* in 62 B.C., a *propraetor* in Spain the next year. After his consulship he received the proconsulship in Cisalpine Gaul, to which was added by senatorial gift Transalpine Gaul. A further five-year extension made him master in that region for the decade 59-49 B.C. During this period he showed his political and military genius. He won Gaul, Britain, and western Germany—conquests most important for the future spread of Roman civilization. In 49 B.C., when Pompey had him excluded from any further civil opportunity and himself became dictator of the Republic, Caesar crossed the Rubicon. He drove down the Adriatic coast and ousted Pompey from Italy. At Pharsalus in 46 B.C. he destroyed his rival. Turning back, he defeated the Spanish followers of Pompey at Munda, and in July of 45 B.C. he entered Rome, the "greatest civil intelligence yet seen." He exacted no proscriptions. The Senate and the Assembly granted him full power to reorganize the State, and

HISTORY OF EUROPE

made him commander-in-chief, nominator of all provincial officials, and dictator for life. He restored peace to the city, dissolved the iniquitous guilds of *equites*, severely limited the corn dole, and gave the franchise to Cisalpine Gaul. On the Ides of March in 44 B.C. he was stabbed to death in the Forum. The Senate later deified him. By a secret will he had made his grandnephew his heir. This man, Octavian, had been with him in Spain and had received a careful training in politics. He now proceeded to eliminate his only competitor, Mark Antony, at Actium in 31 B.C., and in the footsteps of Julius he returned to Rome, supreme.

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CHAPTER VIII

Principate and Empire

THE space of time between Augustus and Diocletian marked the height of Roman power. The republican culture had made the *civis Romanus* a remarkable character. This character now organized the greatest empire of ancient times. Roman law and language, Roman domestic and civic virtue, Roman economy, and the very pattern of the imperial geography became vital features of European life. The Empire transmitted the republican heritage to the world.

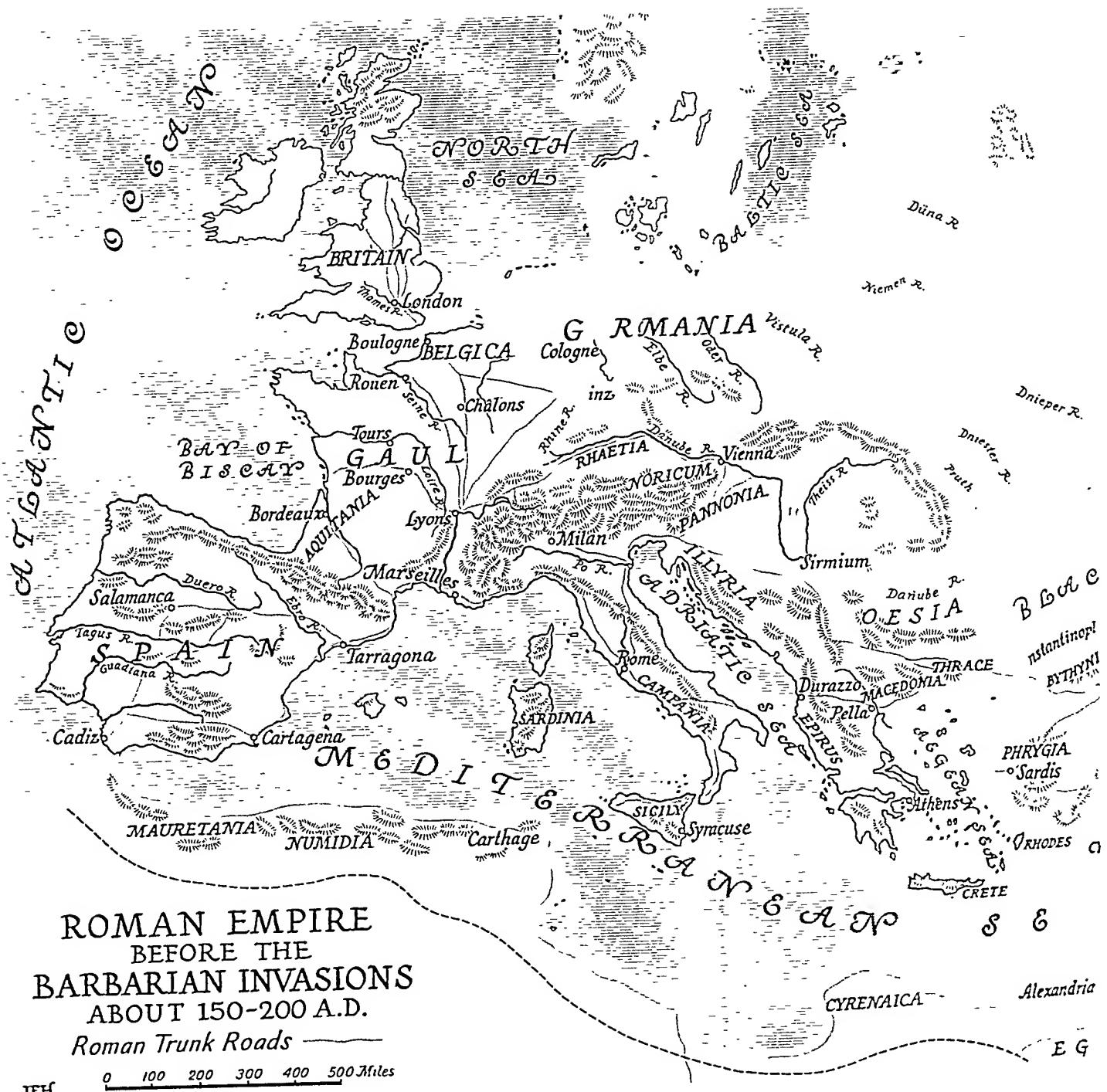
The fiction of democracy was carried on for two hundred years after Julius, so strongly had the tradition of natural rights and of popular sovereignty—*Senatus populusque Romanus*—been imbedded in the Roman spirit. In time a military monarchy arose, to leave its imprint in distant lands and far-off centuries. The coming of that monarchy foreshadowed the breakup of the Empire and the long and gloomy period called the Dark Ages. Roman law developed, meanwhile, under the influence of the famous praetorian edicts and the great lawyers, until in the sixth century it became fixed in the codes that would educate subsequent generations of judges and administrators. The trusted courts, the admirable army, the Roman roads and the posts, the civil service and the peace officers, especially the central location of the city seated beside an ocean which touched the chief divisions of the Empire—all these factors combined to

HISTORY OF EUROPE

offer hospitality to a new and striking force that would create a fresh civilization for the world.

i. In 31 B.C. Octavian (63 B.C.-A.D. 14) became the sole ruler of the Roman world. He had conquered Egypt, and now his enormous revenues from that province, his prestige in victory, and his control of the armies led the Senate to grant him every office that he chose to accept, even divinity. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, he received the fullness of power. He was consul from 35 B.C. to 24 B.C., and again in 6 B.C. In 27 B.C. he was appointed proconsul for all provinces in which the army was needed. In the same year he was given the surname Augustus, and he affixed this title to the month Sextilis. Surrendering all extraconstitutional power, he received in return complete executive authority, though he held it nominally in a diarchy with the Senate. In 23 B.C., when he resigned the consulship, he was given the tribunate and the *majus imperium* for life. The former office with its veto power enabled him to control legislation. The latter made him master of the frontier provinces.

Augustus had jurisdiction over the *fiscus privatus* for the pay of all civil servants, and these he appointed. Granted a large sum for his personal support, he gathered about him a court in oriental style. Senators were appointed to governorships and all other important civic posts. To the *equites* went the lesser positions, and any man of wealth could be created a knight. After A.D. 14 the Comitia Tributa, which had absorbed the Comitia Centuriata long before, lost its sole remaining power of electing officers. The Senate theoretically took the role of lawmaker. Promising young men were given preliminary training for civil service. With tact and patience Augustus tried to refashion government to meet imperial



PRINCIPATE AND EMPIRE

needs. He issued much reform legislation: *de maritandis ordinibus*, on the reconstruction of the Senate, on the equalization of taxes, on the promotion of piety and peace. In 19 B.C. he ordered the celebration of commemorative games. His was called the Golden Age in Roman literature. In religion he kept the old rites until the growing oriental custom of bowing the knee led him to seek to be called *divus*. Though his personal ownership of Egypt gave him a revenue of ten million dollars a year, his own style of life was plain and unpretentious. Yet everything about him underwent a great transformation. Socio-economic life was profoundly changed. Factories, the equestrian guilds, the banks, and the merchant marine expanded beyond the dream of former days. On the Elbe and the Danube his adopted heir, Tiberius, set up new frontiers. Peace and plenty prompted orators to declare that Rome would last forever. And yet, in spite of this tremendous work of administration, the great builder and ruler died an unhappy old man in A.D. 14.

2. The principate, or diarchy, lasting from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, consolidated the Empire. Augustus saw to it that the Senate elected his successor before his death. It was a shocking change when in A.D. 37 the praetorian guards presented Caligula for election, and the same practice held good for Claudius and Nero. Vespasian, victor in a bloody civil war, presented himself. The Flavian emperors, by a just and careful rule, recovered economic stability for the government, a condition notably absent after Augustus. The Five Good Emperors continued this policy, but in their day the increase in the number of great estates and share-cropping tenants foreshadowed evils to come. In the western provinces most provincials obtained Roman citizenship and accepted

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Roman manners. In the East, Latin and Greek speech shared official recognition. Trajan extended Roman power to its farthest frontiers; Hadrian did most to strengthen the new boundaries, particularly in Britain, which in A.D. 43 had been conquered by Claudius. The era came to an abrupt end in the infamous rule of Commodus.

3. The line of military monarchs was begun by Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-212), who entered Rome as a conqueror. He submerged the Senate and placed the knights in control of justice, of imperial tax levies, and of the census. Men now rose from the army ranks into the entire civil service. The newly reformed praetorian guard awed the Senate and the city. The West imitated the East in intellectual lethargy. All bowed before the man of arms. On the frontiers battle raged; at home Aurelian built a defensive wall around Rome. In the third century the protection of the frontiers became the major state problem. The earlier centralization was now turned into absolutism—in law, in religion, and in civil administration. Economic distress increased. Homeless city people gladly became *coloni* on the imperial domains. After Severus allowed the soldiers to marry and to settle near the legionary camps, fixity of occupation soon followed, and under Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235) it was made mandatory. Meantime the law was interpreted and purified by the great Antonine lawyers, Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, and Modestinus. (In A.D. 120 Julianus, the last praetorian prefect, had published the last and perpetual praetorian edict.) Jurists came to teach that the emperor was the source of law and above all law. They wrote: *Quidquid principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, adding, to calm objections but with obvious facetiousness, *utpote populus ei potestatem con-*

PRINCIPATE AND EMPIRE

ferat. ("Whatever the prince wills has the force of law because the people give him power.")

4. Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) tried to stem the trend of barracks rulers by absorbing himself in civil reorganization. Nevertheless he wore the diadem and forced all to prostrate in his presence. To rule the Empire he chose a colleague, vested with *imperium* and the title 'Augustus.' Each had a 'Caesar' as a lieutenant. In a scheme to avoid violence in the succession the Empire was divided into four prefectures. New constitutions were proclaimed in the name of the two 'Augusti.' Under senatorial collegiate responsibility prices, wages, and taxes were fixed for the whole Empire. To meet government deficits a new coinage was issued. Death was made the penalty for deviation from the legal prices—a clear sign of the decline in Roman life.

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CHAPTER IX

The Great New Force in History

UNDER Augustus the Roman commonwealth approached the climax of political grandeur. He and his successors in the principate organized and administered an imperial system that was perhaps the highest achievement of ancient culture. Peace, power, and plenty marked the far-flung, unified régime. It was the peak of political accomplishment, but beyond the horizon lay a future that already worried statesmen and thinkers. At this critical point the world was moved by a profound new force that came into human life.

History ever goes onward, for better or for worse. Like life, it never stops to rest. It has certain laws of freedom, variation, progress, and decline. Man has definite limitations, despite all his energies and abilities. As Newman once wrote, the story of the past would seem to show that in the first days the human race suffered some tremendous catastrophe, so powerless are men to fashion an enduring way of life, so prone are they to havoc and destruction. To obtain that mastery over their surroundings which will enable them to succeed in life, they need some elevating, guiding, and strengthening influence. Despair in the possibility of this success is the mark of paganism.

The Roman Empire destroyed democratic government. The new force taught men by eternal principles to esteem each other—the basis of democracy. As the Empire wore on,

THE GREAT NEW FORCE IN HISTORY

its citizens moved farther away from the sound domestic and social virtues of the pre-Gracchan times. The new force taught them self-control and the pursuit of highly worthwhile ideals. From its inception the Empire began a slow disintegration. The new force commenced at once to integrate all life in a constantly increasing momentum. The aim of the new force was the new city, the renewed world, the City of God. The new force was the Catholic Church.

1. The new force in history is of such proportions and complexity that it demands a thorough study if one wishes to know it well. Many writers have but a sketchy and external view of it. Historically, from its first days it had a clear perception of its purpose, origin, action, and terminus. Its fundamental importance is such that the entire story of mankind is divided into two sections, that before and that after its coming into the world.
2. Correct history investigates the claim of the Church to be what it says it is. (See the article by Beard cited below.) The evidence for the origin of the Catholic Church is found in the Gospels, in the writings of the Fathers and other early Christians, and in the contemporary histories of the non-Christians—Tacitus, Josephus, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius. The Gospels and Epistles are authentic, genuine, more abundantly corroborated than any other documents of ancient times. Their authors were first-class witnesses of the events. They wrote what they saw and heard, with candor, daring to tell the truth at the risk of their lives.
3. Christ our Lord founded the Church. He was born at Bethlehem of Judea in Syria. He lived in exile in Egypt, and returned with Mary and Joseph to Nazareth. At the age of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

thirty years He opened His public life. He chose His apostles, made them a trained college of leaders, taught them His doctrines and His purpose, explained His Church to them, and ordained them bishops. In the reign of Tiberius He was crucified at Jerusalem, arose from the dead, spent forty days confirming His apostles, and appointed St. Peter head of His Church. Then He left them to carry out His work as He ascended into heaven, leaving His promise to be with them all days. He claimed to be God, worked miracles by His own power, said His kingdom was not of this world, and died for proclaiming His divinity and divine mission. His Church lives unchanging in doctrine, permanent in organization and unity, in holiness and universality.

4. The influence of the Catholic Church as a historical force has been immense. It civilized Europe and preserved the best of antiquity for later days. It gave stability to society and to governments. It has produced a Catholic culture, has kept a clear consciousness of its purpose in spite of the human agents in its work, and has fostered the flowering of the best in man: art, science, the welfare of society, the understanding of life, heroic nobility of character.

5. Because of its unique place in history, the Church has been the subject of an immense historiography. The earlier writers took for granted its divine character, as they wrote for a thoroughly Christian audience. During the past four centuries many historians have tried to write its story "from outside." While they have frequently made a sincere effort to understand and portray its life, their narratives betray the narrow vision of those who can only "look through the windows." They see the world's reaction to the Church. They do not see the Church as it is in itself.

THE GREAT NEW FORCE IN HISTORY

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CHAPTER X

Organizing the Church

HISTORICALLY the Catholic Church is a religious society with a hierarchical government, a definite belief and practice, and a continuing time-place contact with the surrounding world. It is kept alive by inner spiritual forces—whose investigation is not directly the business of history—and by a human activity which incorporates men into its living union. It maintains them in faith and in proper conduct, caring for their individual and institutional welfare in an organic religious system.

The Church performed its first public act on Pentecost in the year of the Resurrection. On that day the apostles stood forth in Jerusalem, under the leadership of St. Peter, to tell that immense, cosmopolitan crowd of the message of Christ and of His Church. For some twelve years they confined their efforts to the Jewish people before they broadened their functions to embrace the gentile races. In official conclave they decided policies, beginning that tradition of authoritative pronouncements and executive acts which gave historic direction to the life and work of the Church. They chose methods and discussed (and retained or rejected) ways and means according to their norm of what Christ had taught them—"whatever I have commanded you." They sent representatives with authoritative power to various sectors of the Roman world. These representatives founded the local churches. All the apostles endured martyrdom in this work,

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH

though St. John was marvelously saved from death in his torture.

Individual churches clamored for written statements from the apostles depicting the biography and teaching of Christ. Partly in response to that request the Gospels and the Epistles were written. These documents were read on the occasion of the Sunday celebration of the mysteries. In 393 the entire Bible was officially collected and stamped with ecclesiastical approval as the Word of God—an approval which reflected the constant belief and tradition among the Christians.

The original bishops ordained priests and consecrated other bishops for all parts of the growing Church. Deacons performed several functions outside their liturgical offices; for instance, that of custodians of goods and funds set aside for the poor. Dioceses, or territorial divisions, grew up in the Roman *dioceses*. Their number increased according to the geographical success of the Church, throughout Egypt, Syria, Persia, Greece, Italy, Gaul, and Spain. The status of priests under bishops was clearly defined. The parochial system matured slowly until in time its law and procedure were codified. St. Peter and St. Paul founded the Church of Rome, where the former established his see in 42 after he moved from Antioch. The two were put to death at Rome under Nero in the year 67.

The second generation of bishops continued in the tradition of the apostles. They ruled their sees, taught and defended Christianity, increased the number of dioceses, and often gave their lives for their flocks. Eusebius has copied into his history the catalogue of Hegesippus, listing the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

bishops of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome. The celebrated letter of Pope Clement I to the Corinthians portrays the position of the first-century bishops of Rome in regard to the Church. They exercised and claimed the primacy of honor and jurisdiction. Their line is unbroken through the centuries.

Faith in the Christian teaching formed the essential binding force among the membership of the Church. Heresy was a denial of some article of faith, a rejection based on disagreement with Christian doctrine. Hence a heretic was out of communion with—excommunicated from—the membership. The heretic formed his views on his own interpretation of Scripture or on a basis of reason alone. The Christians rested the truth of their belief on historic revelation, on the fact that it was told to them by Christ through His Church. Heresies threatened to divide the Church from the first days. Gnostics, Montanists, and Manicheans very early separated from the main body, and the followers of Arius († 336) at one time numbered nearly half the inhabitants of the Empire.

Defense against heresy led to widespread religious writing and aided in the development of doctrine. By development is meant the formulation of previously unformulated doctrines, and an analysis and exact statement of the truths of faith, of the bond of union and organization, and of the sacramental system in regard both to its effects and to the nature of its action. The constant stand of believers was that no new doctrines were revealed after the death of the apostles, and that these apostles taught only what Christ had taught them. But

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH

as the times passed, and study or devotion brought new emphases and new ways of speaking, Christians stated explicitly many matters which had previously been but dimly seen in revelation. Thus the martyrs of the second century often offered their sufferings for the departed souls, and others likewise offered vicarious martyr-sufferings with the consent of the martyrs. But no one then used such words as ‘purgatory,’ ‘indulgences,’ or ‘sanctifying grace’ in the full meanings given these words in later times.

1. The Acts of the Apostles contain the early story: the conversion of St. Paul, the movement toward the Gentiles, the Council of Jerusalem in 51, the persecution of Herod, the journeys of St. Paul round the Mediterranean and his successes at Rome. All the Epistles enlarge the narrative. Document and tradition preserved the biographies of the apostles. Their immediate successors, Linus, Ignatius, and other notable men, were given a prominent place in ecclesiastical history. Justin in Rome sent to Antoninus Pius, in 155, his famous apology for the Christians.

2. The Apostles' Creed dates from apostolic times. Tertullian († 214), Origen († 231), Cyprian († 251), Polycarp († 155), Hermas († about 100), Ireneus in Gaul († 202), and many others wrote on doctrine and government. The liturgy, especially the Mass and the celebration of Sunday, was worked out and regulated. At first Greek was the official language, changing to Latin in Rome and Gaul in the second century. Africa used Latin from the beginning.

3. The ancient discipline was strict in the matters of defection from faith, of confession, and of penance. Catechumens

HISTORY OF EUROPE

were severely trained before baptism. The support of the poor by common funds was treated as a serious obligation. The great troubles were the heresies, and these were largely settled in the general councils.

4. The Fathers of the Church wrote magnificently on doctrine and organization, and in exhortation to Christian living. The Greek Fathers were Athanasius († 373), Basil († 379), Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), Gregory Nazianzen († 389), John Chrysostom († 398), and Cyril of Alexandria († 444). The Latin Fathers were Ambrose († 397), Jerome († 420), Augustine († 430), and Gregory I († 604).

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CHAPTER XI

The Roman World Becomes Christian

THE first step in the coming of the Middle Ages was the Roman acceptance of Christianity. Medieval culture rested on Rome and the Catholic Church. Both forces operated toward fusing the Latin, the Teuton, and the Gaul into a new civilization and a new commonwealth, the Christian Republic of the Middle Ages.

The impact of the Church on the Empire occurred in two phases. The first was the *fight for existence* in the Roman world. Christian worship was proscribed, and the Christians were refused many civil rights, even the holding of property. Their doctrine and manner of life were scorned. Here and there they enjoyed toleration of their weekly gathering to celebrate the mysteries, but before 300 there was always persecution somewhere. The statement of Lactantius is most significant, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians." Membership in the Church was a highly appreciated possession, preserved and defended with the utmost sacrifice. It is true that the unity of the Empire assisted the expansion of the Church. Nevertheless the official political and religious attitude toward Christians and the worldly lives of Roman citizens placed immense obstacles in its way.

In the second phase the Empire *accepted* the new religion in a series of historic steps. Christianity, even apart from its inner force and life, was a powerful institution from the beginning. The well-knit organization under a hierarchy of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

superior and earnest men; the loyalty of the membership and their deep seriousness of purpose; the clear conception of aim; the persistency despite all kinds of attack; especially the Christian ideals of charity, chastity, peace, and respect for man and God; and the great mercy shown to the unfortunate, the weak, and the young—all these qualities gave coherence to the faithful and inspiration to outside observers. Romans were fair-minded and prone to justice. Roman government spread this spirit throughout the Empire, and thus offered hospitality to the new religion. On the other hand many Romans were led to study the Church by their unhappy experiences with slavery, gladiators, official tyranny, economic stress, periodic spells of fear from the barbarian threat on the borders, and the chaotic rule of barrack emperors and praetorian guards. And they were utterly disillusioned after their contacts with the oriental esoteric religions.

1. The first century saw inroads made by St. Paul into the court and family of Claudius. The persecution of Nero strengthened the Church, despite his irresponsible and inhuman treatment of many innocent people. Citizens of Athens discussed Christianity before the temple of the Unknown God. The poor and the afflicted, universally neglected, happily accepted the new gospel of love. The slaves, in exile, downtrodden and denied their personality, saw in Christianity a new respect for the individual, a new meaning of life.

2. The second century brought a large increase. Learned men of the stamp of Justin entered the Church. Many soldiers became Christians, and churches appeared everywhere. Distant military campaigns took the faith into the border-

THE ROMAN WORLD BECOMES CHRISTIAN

lands, and barbarians sought admittance to the growing institution. Spain, Gaul, the Danube lands, and Persia were solidly organized. The third century found the Church in full vigor in spite of the Decian persecutions. Monasteries and convents for virgins appeared in Africa and Asia Minor. Great cities made their leading men bishops. Such a one was Cyprian of Carthage. The final brutal persecution of Diocletian—an effort to save pagan Rome by mass slaughter—proved a failure. The Church became the greatest single organized force within the Empire.

3. In the fourth century more than half the people of the Empire, and most of the leaders, were Catholics. Converts in the universities of Athens and Alexandria wrote learned books and disputed before the public with marked success. Paganism met an official check in the stoppage of offensive shows, carnivals, and immoral practices. Greek drama was suppressed in the zeal of Christians for purity—a positive and needed reform. Schools for the Christians arose on all sides. Public buildings reflected the Christian spirit, as did the manner of speech and writing. The ecclesiastical courts impressed all with their Christian equity and respect for sacred things.

The critical moment came in the Edict of Milan in 313, when Constantine granted complete religious liberty to Christian life. With that grant came the right to own private and institutional property and to incorporate under state law. (Note that it was only in 392 that Theodosius made Christianity the official religion of the Empire.) That edict of Constantine resulted in the conversion of many of the mediocre type who had hitherto feared to enter the Church. At the same time the absence of persecution rendered some

HISTORY OF EUROPE

less vigilant in duty or office, and the great Arian heresy won over a considerable number. This heresy, however, was not conquered by material force; it fell under the moral attack of charity and sound principle. The Constantinian recognition of legal rights enabled the ecclesiastical authorities to center their full attention on the development of Catholic life, in place of the former attitude of defense. Paganism declined rapidly before the advancing Catholic culture. Freedom of education produced an abundance of able leaders. Once liberated, Christianity pervaded the life of the Empire, and Rome now faced the barbarian world as a Christian commonwealth.

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CHAPTER XII

Folk Movements of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

THE supreme achievements of Constantine the Great (324-337) were the recognition of Christianity and the removal of the capital to his new city of Constantinople in 330. This latter move was significant of the oriental character of his centralist and absolutist government. The strength of the Empire was placed at the eastern limit of Europe, where it was needed against the Asiatic barbarian threats. But the culture of Rome was European, and this unnatural removal of power from its source bespoke a change of profound historic importance. Two years later a further ominous sign appeared: all *coloni* or tenant farmers then in debt were obliged to go into hereditary servitude. This move doomed Roman culture. It separated the leaders from the land, and by promoting the growth and power of the rich landed aristocracy prepared the way for feudalism. Finally, Constantine not only retained the Diocletian system of four prefects for the divisions of the Empire, but he bequeathed his supreme power to his three sons. These divisions prompted the creation of separate armies—armies that would in the future be used to elevate emperors no less than to suppress the raids of border barbarians.

It is customary to speak of the fall of the Roman Empire. In reality the Empire did not fall before any attack; it simply disintegrated. The Romans became a minority in the ruling class, and the provincial majority took over authority

HISTORY OF EUROPE

for themselves. The city ceased to control the western European provinces, in politics and economic life. The former centralization of business in Rome was replaced by the régime of the wealthy provincial aristocracy, now made up for the most part of men with no Roman ancestry. The former imperial government lost its hold on the outlying districts. It was too busy with its own problems of self-preservation. Meantime the migrating barbarians occupied Roman lands and Roman offices. They accepted Christianity, and they captured the control of the West.

Ever since the raids of the Cimbri and Teutones, border marauders had plagued the Roman boundaries. Britain felt their attack. There in the first century a frontier governor, at the order of Claudius, had invaded and conquered the land. Within a hundred years the island became a replica of Italian life, with its bishops and churches, its roads, towns and villas, its commerce and social manners, and the Latin language that was spoken generally south of the Wall of Hadrian. Peace and civilization prevailed until in 407 a candidate for imperial election withdrew his legions from Britain and left the field open for the migration of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. These fierce intruders uprooted Roman culture. The years 447-597 were a sad chapter in English history until Augustine undertook its second civilization.

Along the Euphrates, in Thrace, and beyond the Danube and the Rhine armies were busy holding the frontiers. As frontier generals rose to imperial power, soldiers recruited on the frontier were brought into the praetorian or palace guards. The legions gradually came to be composed of non-

FOLK MOVEMENTS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

Romans rather than of Romans because of the immensity of the frontier and the unwillingness of citizens to serve in the armed forces. And thus the Germans, as defenders of the Empire, had a claim on its bounty, and their slow occupation of the imperial provinces was not improper. For decades Rome settled German soldiers of the legions on the lands of Roman provincials, either in barracks for defense or on bounty lands after active service. At first, one-third of the rich farm lands were confiscated and handed over to the families of these soldiers and their kings by the barrack emperors. Later on, two-thirds of the farms in Gaul and in the Rhone valley were given to the barbarian warriors. A new proprietary class of Germans thus arose in the provinces, men who understood that Rome now depended on strangers to win her wars. These migrating soldier families settled in Spain, Africa, Gaul, and Illyricum, and finally down through Italy. As the imperial claimants engaged in their frequent civil wars, the local Germanic leaders were forced to assert themselves and to take the preservation of life and civil order into their own hands. When at last in 476 Odo-vaker, standing in the Roman Forum itself, declared that the Empire no longer existed in the West, a new epoch of history had arrived.

1. The Germans were a new people, differing in blood, institutions, and language from all others known to antiquity. Pytheas of Marseilles, in traveling to the Baltic for amber about 275 B.C., had crossed their country. Marius defeated them in 101 B.C., and Caesar advanced beyond the Rhine. Augustus conquered and organized the lands north of the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Alps, and formed the provinces of Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia above the bend of the Danube. Tacitus wrote the first account of the Germans about A.D. 100. They lived in villages within their *Reich*. A cluster of these villages was called a 'hundred,' and had to furnish one hundred fighting men in time of war. Each village sent selectmen to the quarterly hundred meetings. During wartime they chose a *Herzog*, or duke, to lead them—a title that soon became hereditary, for civil wars were frequent. The transformation of a duke into a *Koenig*, or king, was the result either of election, of appointment, or of usurpation. The bodyguard of the king became the nobility and the administrative officials when the day of political organization arrived. Among this Germanic group the Alemanni, Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Franks, Lombards, and Saxons were the principal tribes.

2. Before A.D. 150 only individual Germans entered the Roman territory as peddlers or soldiers. Soon after that date the whole German world engaged in a period of violent civil war and began to press over the frontiers. Near Budapest they attacked the Pannonian marches, and there Marcus Aurelius led the defense for fourteen years until he died at Vienna in 180. In 211 the Goths threatened Dacia. These people had originated in Sweden, migrated to Danzig and up the Vistula, and onward for 150 years until they reached the Black Sea. In 275 they were given the province of Dacia by the emperor. Meanwhile other tribes attacked Gaul and northern Italy. During the century 275-375 the nearer tribes were civilized and Christianized. As soldier recruits or colonists they came freely into Roman lands. Their language borrowed much from the Latin. In the fifth century they produced the great commanders-in-chief, Stilicho, Aetius, and



FOLK MOVEMENTS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

Rikimer. As part of the legions they were on every frontier and garrisoned many inland towns.

3. The Huns were tribes of Mongols from farther Asia, whose incursions eastward had led to the building of the Great Wall of China. Nomad and pastoral in contrast to the agricultural villagers of Germany, they roved over central and western Asia. Their vanguard, the Alani, settled between the Volga and the Don and in 275 invaded Asia Minor. The Huns were savages. About 372 they moved west above the Caspian Sea and destroyed the Alani. Then they crossed the Volga and the Don. Falling upon the East Goths, the best of contemporary German civilization, they crushed them and pressed on westward.

The West Goths or Visigoths in dismay rushed across the Danube into Moesia and Thrace. At first they were given refuge and land, but when the local governors mistreated them they rebelled under Fridigern and marched toward Constantinople. At Adrianople in 378 they defeated the Romans and killed the emperor Valens. The western emperor, Gratian, now made the Spaniard Theodosius his coregent and sent him eastward. This statesman redressed the wrongs of the Visigoths, took them into his army, and settled their families in Pannonia along the Danube. He became sole emperor in 379, and after he had made Christianity the official religion he gained the Goths as converts.¹ On the death of Theodosius in 395 the government passed to his two sons,

¹ It should be noted that the Visigoths were first converted by Arian missionaries. In the times immediately after the Edict of Constantine, for various reasons outlined in the previous chapter, the Arians were the more zealous missionaries on the Balkan frontier. This condition was reversed after the general councils of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381) had affirmed and reaffirmed the Nicene Creed.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

and from that date East and West were permanently divided. The Visigoths rebelled again on the change in imperial rule. Under Alaric, whom Stilicho, the great commander, had made the duke of Illyricum, they drove across Greece and Illyricum and invaded Italy. Ravenna replaced Rome as the western capital in a move inspired by strategy and fear, but Stilicho halted the invasion after seven years of fighting.

4. The Vandals and Suevi now came westward. In the winter of 406-407 they crossed the Rhine on the ice, and took and sacked Gaul. In 409 they continued on to Spain. They were driven out of Spain twenty years later by the Visigoths, and finally built their homes in western Africa. The Visigoths themselves were incensed at the barbarous murder of their leaders ordered by Honorius; and, as was seen above, they invaded Italy and pillaged the city of Rome. Honorius now took them into the army and sent them against the Vandals in Gaul and Spain. Victorious, in 429 they established the first Germanic kingdom on Roman soil with Toulouse as their capital. Though they yielded the Gallic half of their kingdom to the Franks in 507, they maintained themselves in Spain until in 711 the Mohammedans overcame them. Their king was made an imperial official with the title of *patricius*, and he administered his section of the Empire. In the year 443 the Burgundians were given the same privilege in their newly occupied territory along the upper Loire and Saône.

The Huns moved westward under their leader Attila. In 451 they crossed the Rhine and marched on Châlons, only to be stopped by a Roman army under Aetius. In the next year Attila rushed into Italy. Again he was defeated, and he

FOLK MOVEMENTS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

led his people back to Pannonia to await a further opportunity of invasion and plunder. Then in 455 the Vandals crossed over from Africa to ravage Italy and Rome. The daring German Odovaker deposed the western emperor Romulus Augustulus in 476 and himself became the *patricius* of Italy. Finally the Salian Franks broke out of Rhenish Prussia, and under Clovis occupied northern Gaul. Within five years (481-486) Clovis took all the land north of the Loire. In 507 he conquered the Gothic kingdom as far as the Garonne, whereupon Toledo replaced Toulouse as the capital of the Visigoths. By 567 the Franks ruled all of France down to the Pyrenees. The power of Rome no longer dominated the provinces of western Europe.

The Empire in the West perished because it was a hollow shell. It wasted away, and in its place the local landlords and the army officers formed their own local governments. The vital force of the city was dissipated, and the Dark Ages took hold of the Western World. Christianity was the one surviving influence that preserved the chief values of ancient culture and molded a new civilization in Europe. Many reasons are offered for the crumbling of Rome. The Romans no longer constituted the Roman army. The absolute rule sapped initiative; it allowed the rich Romans to live in luxury and with no sense of responsibility for the Roman government. Periodic misrule, added to natural calamity and barbarian intrusion, ruined the economic life of the Empire. The capital was moved to Constantinople. Lastly the Roman citizens, as they began to embrace Christianity, lost their respect for the old pagan culture. To rule that refined and complex civilization was beyond the power of untutored, traditionless barbarians, and when it fell out of their grasp it went into chaos. Civilization reverted to a simple agricul-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

tural stage and a rugged struggle for the necessities of life.
This was the great crisis in the history of Europe.

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CHAPTER XIII

Justinian and Later Imperial Achievements

THE Germanic migrations made a great change in the life of the Western Empire. It would be a mistake to believe the 'Germanic myth' that it was German blood and German institutions which remade the nations. Nevertheless, the Germans did take over in large part the imperial administrative system; and as the Roman personnel disappeared, so too did Roman customs and in particular Roman centralization. Europe broke up into a multitude of petty kingdoms, and for the next five centuries the western peoples lived a turbulent life.

The Eastern Empire, meanwhile, continued the tradition of Roman culture. Unlike Rome, Constantinople possessed excellent natural defenses, and its position at the crossroads of the continents drew to it the wealth and strength of North, South, and East. It is true that the conquest of this city had no attraction for the barbarians. Beyond it lay no lands worth the taking, and for this reason the invaders pressed westward and on into Italy, Gaul, and Spain. But to the subject provinces the capital was the seat of a divine potentate, with a splendid court and a magnificent public life, and none of them doubted the power of the legions. The city was famous for its intellectuals and its artists, and for its typically troublesome oriental crowd. Down to the time of Justinian, the last Latin-speaking emperor, Constantinople considered that the East and West were one. After him the emperors

HISTORY OF EUROPE

confined their attentions to the Eastern Empire. They spok Greek. They scorned the Occident. Tyrannizing the provinces, they maintained their power until the Mohammedan influence finally engulfed them in 1453.

1. Religious unity became a special concern for the emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries, as they were constantly beset by barbarian incursions and internal threats. This unity was achieved in part by the decree of Theodosius, in 392, making Catholic Christianity the official religion. It was finally effected by the great general councils and by the papacy. The Council of Nicea (325) adopted the Nicene Creed against Arianism. The Second Council of Constantinople (381) condemned the heresy of Macedonius, who denied equal godhead to the Holy Ghost, and in the same council the Arians were clearly shown to be out of harmony with Christianity. The Council of Ephesus (431) proclaimed Mary the Mother of God in solemn conclave. The Council of Chalcedon (451) restated the belief in Christ as both true God and true Man. The Manichean good-evil notion was rejected both by the councils and by civil law. Finally the conversion of Clovis in 507 resulted in a widespread abandonment of Arianism.

2. A significant change occurred when Rome was no longer the western capital. Its one importance came to be its position as the see of the chief bishop of the Church. The popes had been the bishops of Rome from the time of St. Peter, and their hierarchical supremacy was enhanced by the dignity and renown of Rome. So too their executive control of the Church had won them increasing respect. Stephen in 256 corrected the famous St. Cyprian on the matter of

JUSTINIAN AND LATER IMPERIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

rebaptism. Sylvester in 325 confirmed the decrees of the Council of Nicea. Leo I took his stand as the champion of Rome against the threat of Attila. The same pope told Emperor Marcian in 452 that "the basis of secular power is one thing, of divine quite another." The patrimony of St. Peter slowly developed into a munificent endowment for the poor and for the support of the papacy. When the emperor moved away, the city remained the city of the popes, and as the center of Christendom it focused upon itself the eyes of all the world.

3. For a time the emperor Theodosius (379-395) united the Empire. When he decreed that Christianity was the official religion, he banned the pagan cults and gave over their property to the bishops. With an eye to the future he appeased the Germanic tribes and settled them within the imperial domains. Then, at his death, he divided his power between his sons Arcadius and Honorius. Honorius it was who moved the western capital to Ravenna. Changes now came fast, and when in 476 Odovaker dethroned Augustulus, he practically made Italy a Germanic state. A decade later the Ostrogothic king Theodoric demanded Italy for his people, and in 489 he won it away from Odovaker in battle. This Ostrogothic kingdom was Arian in religion. In law and in its educational system it was Roman. Theodoric ruled the nation from Ravenna until his death in 526.

4. The most remarkable Roman emperor was Justianian (527-565). A Goth by descent but a Roman in spirit and policy, he was ambitious to abolish the Germanic kingdoms and to restore the Empire to its former glory and dominion. His general Belisarius broke up the Nika Riot of 533 in Constantinople, and in the same year conquered the Vandals in

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Africa. Exarchs with both civil and military power were now appointed to rule the provinces. In Italy Belisarius, with the aid of Narses, overthrew the Ostrogothic kingdom after a bitter war (536-555). Throughout the peninsula ruin was everywhere. Agriculture almost ceased, and wolves invaded the towns and villages. When the Lombards came in 568 they found the Po valley a wasteland.

The wars in the West caused such a withdrawal of troops that the eastern borders were left exposed. Justinian there resorted to compromise. For several years he paid a tribute to Chosroes of Persia (531-579) to induce that monarch to keep the peace.

In his capital, to meet the cost of bureaucratic government and the grand court, Justinian drew huge revenues from a heavy taxation. The city was rich, with a splendid merchant marine and an important commercial trade. Antioch and Alexandria likewise contributed from their valuable commerce. The skilled artisan work of the urban populations, the price of the Russian slaves who were sold beside the Bosphorus, the rich estates tilled by industrious peasants, the duties on goods brought from India and China—all these kept the treasury solvent.

Justinian exerted an exceptional influence on world history. He was a builder of grand and beautiful public edifices. Notable was the Church of St. Sophia with its revolutionary architectural features—the great dome, the groined ceilings supported at each corner by a single pillar, the superior mosaic work. In his religious policy he was a caesaro-papist: he filled bishoprics without consultation; he took fees for ecclesiastical patronage and controlled church revenues, thus foreshadowing the later Spanish *patronato*. In the church courts he frequently interfered, and he treated heresy as political

JUSTINIAN AND LATER IMPERIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

rebellion. His best monument was his memorable codification of the Roman law. This *Corpus Juris Civilis* was composed of (1) the Institutes, or manual of law, (2) the Code, a summary of imperial edicts, (3) the Digest, a compendium of the best senatorial and praetorian law of the past, and (4) the Novels, his own new laws, written in Greek. This body of law became the guide and standard for centuries of legislation and of legal training and exercised an important influence on the ecclesiastical code.

5. It is proper here to advert to the early development of the church law. Custom, judicial decisions, and decrees from the earliest days had formed a basic tradition for church courts. In 321, and again in 331, Constantine published constitutions giving public sanction to the law of the Church. He permitted Christians to have their cases tried by the bishops. He likewise decreed that all cases decided in episcopal courts should be considered settled as validly as those heard in praetorian or popular courts. Cases involving matters of faith or sacramental practice and those dealing with rights in dispute between clerics were naturally committed to the courts spiritual.

Theodosius in his *Breviarum Alaricianum* published a Gothic compendium of the *Antonine Digest* of Valentinian, coupled with the prevalent church laws. This code was widely used throughout Europe up to the twelfth century. Another code, the *Codex Prisca*, written in the Spanish language and compiled from the disciplinary decrees of the councils of Nicea and Sardica, was in force during the fifth century throughout Spain. The *Liber Judiciorum*, a synthesis of Visigothic and Ostrogothic customs coupled with the Justinian statutes, appeared after Belisarius and Narses conquered Italy.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

In 525 Dionysius Exiguus made a collection of papal edicts for use in court practice. The forming of the great *Corpus Juris Canonici* would await the day of the University of Bologna and its famous jurist Gratian.

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CHAPTER XIV

St. Augustine

THE Roman invasion of Alaric and the Visigoths in 409 was a significant event in history. From one standpoint it marked the rise of the new nations over the wreck of Roman power. On the other hand it signalized the passing of pagan religion and the Christianizing of both the old and the new Europe.

The event called forth one of the most remarkable leaders of all time, St. Augustine of Hippo. Men who influence history are usually statesmen or soldiers. This man was but the bishop of a small town in North Africa. The force he exerted had in it nothing of the compulsion of arms or civil power. It was his mind, his voice, and his pen that molded the life of succeeding generations. He made his household a model of the clerical manner of life. His argument and persuasion shattered the chief heresies of his day and brought about a notable development in religious doctrine. His grand philosophy of history, *The City of God*, became the manual of social and political ideals for a thousand years. The aim of his work, as of his life, was what he called the *beata pacis visio*, a purpose which the world after him made its own. From his day to our own he has been the subject of didactic and biographical writing, and his fifteen-hundredth anniversary in 1930 produced hundreds of commemorative studies. Perhaps no figure since apostolic times has so definitely shaped the course of history.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

1. In his *Confessions* St. Augustine wrote his autobiography. He was born Aurelius Augustinus at Tagaste in Numidia in 354. His father, Patricius, died shortly after baptism in 371. Monica, his mother, a devout Christian, converted her husband, but had little influence with her son in early days because his father let him go his own way. In youth Augustine found classical studies hard, but he excelled in rhetoric and composition. He studied law and philosophy and from that he went on to Scripture, but he was too proud to aim at excellence in the sacred sciences. At nineteen the Manichean fatalists enrolled him in their sect. Traveling to Italy, he was followed by Monica, who asked him to visit St. Ambrose of Milan. The result was his conversion and baptism in 386. After his return to Africa he was ordained priest in 391 and two years later became the bishop of Hippo, where he lived until his death in 430. His words on his mother's death, found in the *Confessions* (Bk. II, ch. xi) are among the most beautiful in all literature.

2. *The City of God* was written, part by part, at intervals between 413 and 427. Three centuries before, Justin had defended the right of the Christians to exist within the Empire. Augustine now stated that the Roman imperial days were ended and that in consequence the Roman view of life must be discarded. In its place Rome should adopt the Christian philosophy of life as the true and the only realistic way of facing the difficult present crisis and the problems of mankind in the future.

Alaric had sacked Rome in 409. The pagan Romans blamed this loss and shame on the recent Theodosian decrees making Christianity the state religion, whereat (as they said) the ancient gods revenged themselves in the sack of the

ST. AUGUSTINE

city. It was the last dying cry of paganism, and it called forth the clear, complete, and compelling reply of Augustine.

The first ten books explain the pagan view to the effect that the glory and strength of Rome had come from the worship of the Roman gods, while the recent evils, particularly the Gothic destruction of the city, were due to the curse brought upon the city by the Christians. Augustine replied that this attitude was especially ungracious in them, for many of the pagans saved their lives by taking sanctuary in Christian churches. He showed that the Romans, with their egotism, nationalism, and false religion, had brought themselves to ruin. His solution of the problem of evil (I, viii) is notable.

The remaining twelve books are devoted to showing that the City of God will lead men to happiness here and hereafter. All men form the two cities or commonwealths, the one of God and the other of the world. The latter pursues the fool's paradise as the be-all and end-all of living: riches, honors, power, and the credit of a great name. In its highest manifestation—the State—it often becomes a tyranny. The former seeks peace in happiness, both in the present terrestrial and in the future celestial city. Living for the future brings present happiness, as far as temporal life will permit.

Book XIX offers solutions for the problems of society, in the home, the city, the state, and the whole world. Peace is "the tranquillity of order" under a just judge. The chief earthly happiness is the hope of the future life. Pagan religions give no peace here or hereafter. Christianity gives it hereafter, and the hundredfold on earth. The only satisfying peace is eternal and unchanging.

In political theory the main idea is the *freedom of the will*, whence it follows that freedom of conscience is the highest right—a right that was never recognized by Rome, and hence

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Rome was no true republic. This insistence on personal rights is directly opposed to the Roman legal theory, though it agrees with the Ciceronian dictum that "populus est coetus multitudinis, juris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatus"¹ and it lays the foundation for the medieval doctrine of the 'consent of the governed.' The point is treated in the *City of God*, Bk. XIX, ch. xxi.

The exhortation of Augustine may be summarized in these words: "Christians, come to grips with the world. Be social, be a part of it. Make it ordered in peace. Be not as the oriental Christian ascetics, unpolitical, out in the desert alone. Be Romans, but Christian Romans. There is no virtue in order without the true religion. Make Rome Christian! Awake to life! You have rights! Be social! Be free!"

St. Augustine made practical and effective the social character of Christianity. He did not give the Church charge over the State; rather, he conceived them as working in the harmony of a Christian republic.

The unity of men and nations after the year 500 was not political but religious, and yet the Church did not conceive of itself as a political force in the direction of human affairs. Its place was definitely in the realm of the spirit, its eye fixed on the Creator and the after-life. This Augustine pointed out when he wrote: "My heart is made for Thee, O God, and it will never rest until it rests in Thee." Never before had Europe possessed a common understanding of life. Now all temporal interests were to be subordinated to the eternal, as means to the end. In the dismay following upon the decay of Roman civil power—the former binding force of European life—this new view of the world, and the institution that

¹ "A people is a collection of many individuals, associated in an agreement of law and a community of interest."

ST. AUGUSTINE

made it effective, gathered into a unity the chaotic elements of the old Empire. It was the Church that civilized Europe, held it together, and guided it in all its functions. It really created a new culture on a Roman basis. Not until the fourteenth century would the idea of the secular State arise to break up the unity of the West.

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CHAPTER XV

Founders of the Middle Ages

THE Middle Ages are the historic time between the ancient and the modern periods. They are called ‘middle’ because they were the time of transition from early to recent epochs. More than that, they have a very positive character and culture: the medieval civilization, the manner of life followed by the peoples of western Europe from 500 to 1500. Modern society is built on this civilization and in many ways continues its institutions and points of view. Historians consider the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the climax of medieval times—the age of highest unity and achievement in the story of mankind.

The Middle Ages developed from four bases: The Roman life, the new nations, Christianity, and the powerful influence of monasticism. During the lifetime of St. Augustine the four forces can be seen in operation. He stands among them as a towering figure at the end of the ancient world, pointing the way to the new civilization and fashioning the intellectual pattern for the new ideals and their concrete realization.

Roman life and the new peoples fused under the energy of the papacy and its great instrument of civilization, the monastic orders. At the time when Odovaker walked into the Forum and announced that “the Roman Empire in the West exists no longer,” these two vital forces were beginning to supplant the imperial power and to guide the energy that

FOUNDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

would continue, uplift, and make permanent the finer elements of Roman life. The popes and the monasteries applied Christian thought—doctrine, philosophy, imagery—to the powers of the new peoples and directed them into the formation of Christian Europe. The process was slow, tedious, and difficult, but at the same time it was sound, vigorous, and fruitful in products of the human spirit.

In the van of that progress stood two men of unique quality, inspiring designers and builders of society: St. Benedict and St. Gregory the Great. They took the plan of *The City of God*, with its foundations of Scripture, the Church, the Greek platonic and neo-platonic philosophy, and Roman history, and worked to form that “tranquillity of order” which Augustine had described. They believed implicitly in Augustine’s *beata pacis visio* and the natural right of all classes to happiness. They foresaw a harmonious duality of Church and State, each performing its functions in the new republic.

Meanwhile the Eastern Empire experienced a similar development, to the north in Russia and the Balkans, to the southeast, and to the southwest. The East, however, remained out of touch with the West until the time of the crusades and Spanish Aristotelianism.

I. St. Benedict was born in Nursia in 480. His sister was the famous St. Scholastica. Following the tendency of his time, he fled away from the violence and degeneracy of city life. In 529 at Subiaco, already a hermit for many years, he assumed the leadership of a group of monks and soon founded twelve monasteries, the chief of them Monte Cassino. Thence

HISTORY OF EUROPE

his rule spread to all the Western World and brought forth hundreds of monasteries. At his death in 543 the Benedictine order was firmly established.

The Benedictine rule considered each monastery a unit of men pledged to work, prayer, and hospitality. This rule was the model for all future religious orders. The monks elected their abbot, and to him they vowed stability and obedience to the rule. The rule demanded a life of poverty and chastity, and was summed up in the motto 'Pax,' the peace that issued from a well-ordered Christian life.

These monasteries saved crumbling Europe and built it anew. Their 'chapter' taught Europe democracy. They spread their ideal of peace, discipline, and useful work. They preserved literature, maintained schools, trained leaders, cared for the needy, and cemented loyalty to Christian religious practice. Their farms remade agriculture. Towns and cities grew up around their churches and schools. The barbarian came to them to learn how to live.

2. St. Gregory the Great (540-604), by birth a Roman patrician, was trained in logic, history, and law, and in 573 was appointed city *praetor* by the emperor, Justin II. In the following year he renounced his high dignity and wealth and became a Benedictine monk. Quickly he founded six monasteries at Palermo and another in Rome, where he remade his father's palace into the famous San Andrea, his residence for the next six years. Sent to Constantinople in 579 as the papal legate, he acted as ambassador to the emperors Tiberius and Maritius until 586, meantime rebuking the latter for trying to rule the Church, and gaining his own point in his fight for the recognition of freedom of conscience. Back in Rome, he was elected pope in 590. A frugal man in

FOUNDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

his private life, his administration was marked by generosity with church riches in aid of the poor and of education.

Gregory was a Roman, with a full sense of law and organization and a broad concept of the function of the papacy. His letters show how he kept all parts of the Church in touch with him. His "pervenit ad nos" is classic. His great work covered three fields: writing, regulation of the liturgy and of episcopal government, and missionary foundations.

His *Dialogues* are a golden legend of the lives of the saints, especially of St. Benedict. His *Homilies on Job* pointed out the right way of living. His *Rules for the Pastoral Office* guided shepherds of the flock for centuries. His *Antiphonary* put a permanent character on ecclesiastical music. Gregory was progressive in educational thought, insisting on less of the ancient and more of the present in studies. His great genius was in organization.

With a deep interest in the conversion of England, in 597 he sent St. Augustine of Canterbury with forty other monks of his Roman monastery to teach the faith to the Anglo-Saxons, particularly to Ethelbert, king of Kent. This mission brought about the 'second civilization of England,' and, in time, at Whitby Abbey in 664, united the old Celtic Church in all respects with the bishop of Rome. The effect of this conversion of England is of capital importance for future history. Soon her kingdom became a nation. Her monasteries enjoyed remarkable success, as did her schools. She came to be called, in all justice, 'Merrie England.' Her glories were unmatched in medieval times.

The achievement of Gregory in winning the Lombards to Catholic Christianity—they had begun their disastrous invasion in 568—solidified the Italian peninsula in religious and civil peace. The Franks were helped by his efforts toward

HISTORY OF EUROPE

peace and by his monastic foundations. From a love of justice he protected the Jews. He often called on the emperor to use the secular arm in settling ecclesiastical problems, while he himself defended the independence of the Church from outside control.

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CHAPTER XVI

Monasticism before 1000

IT CANNOT be repeated too often that the Roman Empire in the West broke down. Its officials ceased to function and its business organization dissolved. Refinement of life gradually disappeared. The Dark Ages came upon Europe—times when men were happy if, as Staendal says, they had a sword, and a greatcoat to keep out the cold of winter. The unified Roman system gave way to an atomic society. The complex and highly effective government was replaced by a multiplicity of local governments established and maintained by force of arms. What gave authority to these new local leaders, and some sense of unity to society, was religion, and its wonderful social agency, monasticism.

By far the most important institution in the building of the Middle Ages and their civilization was this monasticism—the monastic life and the monasteries in which it was lived. Through the activities of the monks the Church raised up the barbarians of the Dark Ages to the status of cultured Europeans. However one approaches the process, whether in the development of languages, schools, agriculture, town life, welfare work, and commerce, or in the vital problems of religion, he will see that the monks took the challenge presented by the decay of Rome and molded the broken elements into a new society. By a strange historical paradox, those who fled the world came back into that world with a

HISTORY OF EUROPE

dynamic power. They were changed men when they returned as a corporate force, transformed and inspired by the simple truths of the monastic régime. Their leaving the world enabled them to better the world.

The key to the story is found within the monastic walls. The overflow of the energy there generated swept the entire Continent, and replaced the ancient vital center of Rome with many new centers of social and political organisms. The result was a diversified yet homogeneous life, local in origins and customs, universal in spirit and ideal.

1. A monastery is a place where people live apart from the world, *alone*. Essenes in Hebrew history practiced hermit life and group hermitage, as did certain ascetics of India, China, and Japan. Ascetics are those who 'keep in training' by higher exercises designed to control the lower appetites and promote the nobler functions of man.

2. Christianity, following the Pauline praise of virginity, very early provided houses for virgins, who were protected and supported by bishops such as St. Cyprian of Carthage. In Egypt and Asia Minor men who wished to live in close union with God often sought the desert for isolation, prayer, and mortification. Food and other necessities were brought to them by relatives and friends from nearby towns. *Laurae* grew up in Syria, in time accepting the rule of St. Basil and developing into the oriental monastic system. The oriental monks emphasized prayer and contemplative life. Occidental monasticism extended its influence far beyond the limits of the monastery. Though at first the western monks remained apart from men, as early as the fourth century they became important as apostles, in Gaul most notably.

MONASTICISM BEFORE 1000

St. Patrick was a monk of Lérins. In 432 he was sent to Ireland. The early Irish conversions had been sporadic and had always been opposed by the pagan kings. Patrick and his fellow monks succeeded completely. At his death the country was deeply Christian and marked by an intense devotion to the monastic life. Irish monasticism held to exalted ideals of holy living, hard work, study, and labor for neighboring folk. From Ireland bands of monks planted religion and civilization in Scotland, Switzerland, and southern Germany. To Ireland men came from all Europe for a monastic education.

3. St. Benedict was the outstanding organizer. By experience he had learned the limitations of hermit life. While at Subiaco as an anchorite, the monks of Vico Varro came to him and asked him to take them under his guidance. He founded twelve small group dwellings for them, and to these lodgings came many Roman knights, among them St. Maurus. In 529 he had them erect a large building at Monte Cassino. It was while directing this large group that he composed his famous rule or constitution.

The Benedictine constitution embraces seventy-three rules: nine on the general conduct of the abbot; thirteen on divine services; twenty-nine on personal conduct, including penalties for faults; ten on the internal administration of a monastery; the rest on hospitality, travel, and monastic ideals. The monks vowed stability, obedience to the rule, and work. Cassiodorus (468-568) was most influential in making study a part of the routine, with its historically monumental achievements of the library and the *scriptorium*.

The rule of St. Benedict was rapidly accepted in all European monasteries, and Gregory the Great gave it special approval. As the rule spread and great monasteries arose,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

families of poor or vagrant agriculturalists were drawn to these environs, there to build their homes and till their farms on adjacent lands. For these people and for their own properties the monks drained swamps, constructed bridges, aqueducts, and roads, and set up boundaries. They taught the barbarians agriculture. They introduced fruit trees, medicinal herbs, and grapevines, and formed a nucleus for a rural community wherever they settled. Hundreds of towns owe their origin to this process. Monastic schools and churches admitted lay people, and the monastery became the focus of life and of humane and spiritual ideals. Within the monastery the democratic chapter, the election of the government, and the observance of a constitution formed models for the political practice of the neighbors. The monasteries trained the lay leaders and taught them the law and the tradition of Church and State.

4. Monks and monasteries helped much in the conversion and rebuilding of Italy, Germany, Russia, the Balkans, Spain, Gaul, England, and Ireland. Their social value in England has been studied at great length. Canterbury, Westminster, Lindisfarne (the home of St. Aidan), Weremouth-Jarrow (where Bede was abbot), Whitby (noted for its double monastery and its remarkable abbess Hilda), Peterborough, Croyland, Abingdon, Reading, and Glastonbury were all famous. According to tradition the last-named had been founded by Joseph of Arimathea. There the legend of the Holy Grail had its origin beyond the memory of man.

The monks taught the nomad Anglo-Saxons the meaning of stable property. They introduced chickens to England, root crops, and the three-field system of agriculture which was practiced in Italy in the fifth century. They built light-

MONASTICISM BEFORE 1000

houses at Glastonbury and Thanet Island. Their care of the sick gave rise to hospitals, of which over 750 are known in Norman times. On their monastic lands, increased by the bequests of pious nobles, many yeomen made their homes, and the feudal system thus derived in part from their organization of the people. As teachers, writers, and learned and wise men they studied and preserved old literature, while they made and wrote history. In fact, the chronicles of England were all kept and continued by the medieval monasteries.

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CHAPTER XVII

The Rise of Medieval Government

THE Middle Ages took their origin in the collapse of the Roman Empire. That collapse became a definite threat when the Germanic soldiers established residence on Roman soil. It was an accomplished fact when the leaders of those soldiers supplanted the Roman officers of civil administration. The *government* of Rome "fell." The Roman state fell apart. Roman social ideas, however, remained, to be incorporated into the medieval commonwealth.

Chapter XII described the barbarian migrations. The Visigoths established their kingdom in Spain. The Ostrogoths and Lombards built their kingdoms in Italy, the Anglo-Saxons in England, and the Franks in Gaul. The Avars and the Magyars replaced the Huns on the lower Danube after 456, and other Slavic peoples overran the regions from Dalmatia to the Baltic. This last group would await the great saints, Vladimir, Cyril, and Methodius, to bring them to civilization. In the West the change in control had taken place before the death of Gregory the Great. The king, or *rex*, passed beyond the stage of a *patricius*—an imperial agent—to the point where he ruled in his own right.

A vital factor was the development of different languages. During the barbarian invasions the Roman provinces began to differentiate. New cultural groups formed, with new racial characteristics of body, of thought, of emotion, as well

THE RISE OF MEDIEVAL GOVERNMENT

as of interests and occupations. The differing ways of sounding and modifying the Roman speech produced differing dialects of Latin. These dialects in time became different languages and marked off the nations of Spain, Portugal, France, England, Germany, and the Balkans. And so it came about that, out of the one Roman Europe, many separate peoples developed their divergent languages, just as they formed their customs and their peculiar local governments.

1. The story of the rise of medieval government is most easily studied in the growth of the Frankish state in Gaul. It will be recalled that the Franks of the northern Rhine crossed over into Gaul under their king, Clovis. After five years of fighting they finally defeated the imperial general Syagrius at Soissons in 486, thus carving out a kingdom that extended from Brittany to the Loire and the Meuse. In 496 Clovis was baptized by St. Remigius, and his people accepted Christianity. War with the Visigoths brought conquest of the Gothic kingdom north of the Garonne, whereupon, in 507, Toledo replaced Toulouse as the Visigothic capital. By 567 the Franks were masters of Gaul down to the Pyrenees, and their power extended eastward as far as the Danube. Their dynasty was the Merovingian, for Clovis (†511) was the grandson of Merovig, or Merowech. After the death of King Dagobert in 639 the confusion of administration begot vicious rivalries, and puppet rulers obeyed the will of favorites in the court.
2. Merovingian government was simple and often inefficient. The king made use of autocratic power, sometimes arbitrarily but always limited by custom. His officers used titles inherited from the imperial court, such as chamberlain, seneschal,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

and constable. The old Roman *civitas* remained the unit of administration, but beyond the Rhine it was more often a royal estate with its adjacent rural districts. Each of these units had its *comes*, or count, to enforce the will of the king in judicial, military, and fiscal matters. The count was the channel of royal right and royal power.

Local custom slowly displaced Roman law in courts of justice. The king rarely issued laws. Each little region developed its own usages. In the South the Roman influence predominated; in the North it was chiefly Germanic.

Royal finance was elementary. Officials received no salaries. Their support came from the landed estates given to them and from a share of the revenues that they collected for the king. Courts were paid by plaintiffs. Army service was exacted of all able-bodied men, without pay, and military provisions, materials, transport, and labor were requisitioned whenever needed. Royal estates furnished the revenues of the king. He continued the Diocletian schedule of taxes as a right left to him by Roman tradition, but it was more honored in the memory than in actual collection.

A new concept of royal power lay behind this autocratic rule. The absolutism of the Roman emperors died out. In its stead the Christianized barbarians adopted the idea that Bracton later formulated when he wrote: "Rex non est sub homine sed sub Deo et sub lege"—"The king is under no man, but under God and the law."

As the early Frankish monarchy enjoyed but little power, the disorganized régime permitted the growth of a strong aristocracy with many special privileges and exemptions. There was small distinction between public and private right. For a while strong and energetic kings preserved a semblance of unity, but under the seventh-century shadows of royalty,

THE RISE OF MEDIEVAL GOVERNMENT

civilization seemed to be doomed. It was the mayor of the palace—the *majordomus*, or chief minister—who saved the kingdom in his capacity as head of the entire government.

3. Carolingians descended from Pepin, mayor of the palace in Austrasia in the time of Dagobert. His grandson, Pepin II, crushed the Neustrian mayor in battle in 687 and made himself supreme in both regions. The remarkable son of Pepin II, Charles Martel († 741), so dominated the scene that his son was crowned King Pepin I in 751. In that act the Merovingian line lost the Frankish throne.

Charles Martel was obeyed in Austrasia, Neustria, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, and he subjected the Alamans of the Upper Rhine to Frankish rule. He gave strong support to the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who went with St. Boniface to the lands beyond the Rhine, and their success won the allegiance of the Germans to his monarchy and papal confidence in the ability of his family to direct the Frankish realm. His notable victory over the Moslems at Poitiers in 732 stopped the threat of Moorish domination and definitely established the Franks as the guardians of Europe in place of a Byzantine empire that was confined in its activity to the Balkans and Asia Minor.

Lombard threats to Roman independence moved Pope Stephen III to seek the aid of the Franks. In 754 he went to Gaul and anointed Pepin I as king and as *patricius* of the Romans, on the correct assumption that the collapse of the Byzantine power left Rome free to provide for its own safety. In that year Pepin crossed the Alps and forced his overlordship on the Lombard Aistulf. Two years later he came once more, to defeat the rampant Lombard. This time he conquered the disputed lands of Italy and by a formal charter

HISTORY OF EUROPE

donated them in perpetual ownership to the Church of St. Peter, thus solemnly ratifying the Papal States.

4. Charlemagne (742-814) brought the Frankish kingdom to its apogee. His father left him Austrasia, Neustria, and half of Aquitaine. The sudden death of his brother in 771 gave him the rest of Aquitaine, as well as Alamania, Burgundy, Provence, and Septimania on the Lower Rhone. In 774 he dealt a final blow to Lombard independence and took over that kingdom. The Frisians, Saxons, and Bavarians in time came under his sway, and the Avars were defeated and driven beyond the Danube. In 800 he incorporated Barcelona and the Spanish March as a southern outpost. In the Church of St. Peter, on Christmas day of 800, he was crowned by the pope with the imperial title. His right was recognized by Byzantium just before his death. In that act the transition from ancient to medieval history was completed.

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CHAPTER XVIII

Islam and Its Conflicts

THE rise of Islam was a vitally important factor in the growth of the commonwealth of Charlemagne. It is necessary, then, before continuing the story of the Frankish empire, to survey the scope of the work done by Mohammed.

The Mohammedan entrance into history profoundly modified medieval life. Rising in Arabia shortly after 600, this religio-political movement rapidly enveloped the Byzantine provinces of the eastern and southern Mediterranean, and in the eighth century it overran the Visigothic kingdom of Spain and invaded Merovingian France. For generations it exerted a steady pressure against southern Europe. After 1453 and the fall of Constantinople, southeastern Europe was constantly threatened and in large part dominated by the 'sons of the Prophet.' Pushing eastward from the Bosphorus, they maintained so strong a hold on western Asia that they remain to this day the power of first importance in the Near East.

Mohammedan control of Mediterranean commerce was the final force that created the Frankish empire. This control effectively shut off Rome from Byzantium. It closed the ports of France and Italy, thus stopping the shipping tolls and ending the chief source of revenue for the rising monarchies of the West. And, lastly, the imminent danger of attack in Italy and along the Pyrenees called forth a strong

HISTORY OF EUROPE

military power to defend the frontiers against expanding Islam.

1. In Mecca, the sacred city of Arabia, the *Kaaba*, or holy stone, was venerated in the annual religious pilgrimage of the feast of Ramadan. Arabia formed a refuge for Jewish exiles and for the sectaries and heretics of Syria and Egypt. There these violently individualistic devotees of oriental religions mingled with a race whose native religion was nature worship. The land of vast deserts and fertile oases supported a pastoral people who made a living from their flocks of sheep and herds of camels. Never conquered, these sandy wastes sat astride the highroads of commerce from the East. A dense population dwelt in the broad oases, with no political unity beyond the patriarchal rule of tribal *sheiks*. An ancient civilization had been choked by the slow advance of the desert upon their pasture land, and in the sixth century the old trade routes collapsed and barbarism came upon the once proud Semitic people.

2. There in Mecca was born the first notable Arabian, Mohammed (570-632). Poor, and orphaned at nine years, he worked as a merchant and became the business agent for a rich widow, Khadija, whom he married. His official duties took him with the caravans beyond his native land, and likewise brought him into contact with Jewish and Christian colonists in Arabia. A silent, thoughtful man of deeply religious nature, he undertook to reform the tribal religion of his people. In 610 he spoke of visions that he had received, and began to preach a new doctrine made up of ideas drawn from Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrism. Driven out of Mecca in the Hegira of 622, he went two hundred miles north to Medina. There he proclaimed Islam, or 'submission to God.'

ISLAM AND ITS CONFLICTS

His followers sang their muezzin call: "la ilaha ill Allah; Muhammed rasul Allah!"—"No god but God; Mohammed the prophet of God!" The Koran, or sacred book of Islam, in its 116 chapters contains the teachings of Mohammed as recorded by his hearers. Faith in God and the prophet, alms-giving, fasting, and the ultimate triumph of Islam were its main tenets. There was no priesthood and no sacrificial rite. Unbelievers must be conquered, their wealth made legitimate booty.

Warfare first turned against Mecca, which fell in 630. Plunder and fanaticism now drove the holy war, or *Jehad*, into Syria, Persia, and Egypt and to the parts beyond. Mohammed built a political organization to bind his religion together and to advertise his fame through the 'holy war' which began with the fall of Mecca. Before his death in 632 his daughter Fatima married Ali, but it was his three tried counsellors, Abu-Bekr, Abu-Ubaida, and Omar, who took up his standard. Under their lead the Mohammedans, certain of paradise if they died in a holy cause, swept out of Arabia like a hurricane.

3. Abu-Bekr was acclaimed the first caliph, or successor to the prophet. He led the Moslem hordes northward and conquered Palestine. In 634 he was succeeded by Omar, who took Damascus and Syria. Byzantine weakness and defeat in Syria enabled the host to destroy the Persian Empire in the battle of Nihawand in 641, whereupon the booty of Ctesiphon and Ecbatana threw fabulous wealth into their treasury. Egypt surrendered at the fall of Alexandria in 642, and the famous library was burned according to the hallowed formula: "These books either repeat what is contained in the Koran or they do not; if they do, they are useless; and if not,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

they ought to be destroyed." The third caliph was Othman (644-655), of the aristocratic Umayyad clan of Mecca, which was now the religious capital. The armies were ruled from the political capital, Medina.

4. The capture of the Alexandrian shipyards made the Moslems formidable on the sea. Cyprus (648) and Rhodes (653) fell into their hands and were made naval bases. Egypt also became a military base in the west, as was Persia in the east. From Persia the exploits of the Crescent armies surpassed the victories of Alexander the Great, as they pushed their conquests to the Indus and the western frontiers of China. Soon Arab ships plied the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. Traders from Arabia took the religion into central Africa, to Madagascar and Zanzibar. Armies advanced along the northern coast of Africa, and after Carthage surrendered in 693 they moved on to Morocco. Finally in 711 they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, established the caliphate of Cordova, and overcame the Visigothic kingdom of Spain. At Poitiers the cavalry of the Moslems so nearly won the battle that Charles Martel determined to acquire thousands of horses and train horsemen for future conflict.

The first caliph of Cordova was an Umayyad, descended from Othman, and the only survivor of a massacre of his clan engineered in 650 by an ambitious rival, the Abassid Abul-Abbas, scion of that Abbas who was the uncle of Mohammed. The strict Abassids built a new capital at Baghdad, where the renowned caliph Harun-al-Rashid ruled in the day of Charlemagne. The liberal Umayyads dominated the western Mediterranean.

The Arabian culture was a synthesis of Mohammedan religion, Arabian language, Persian architecture and science,

ISLAM AND ITS CONFLICTS

and Greek philosophy. The civilization which the Arabians planted in Spain continued into the Middle Ages and had considerable influence on university life and philosophical studies in Christian Europe.

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CHAPTER XIX

The Carolingian Empire

THE rise of Islam brought third great power into the world. In the East Byzantium was on the wane, the remnant of a once glorious Rome. The bulk of the former imperial territories now formed the lands of two rival powers, Christian and Mohammedan, above and below the Mediterranean, destined for centuries to develop their separate cultures and to oppose each other with crusading zeal until the European half emerged to dominate the rest of the earth. The two faced each other from the outset, and the success of the Mohammedans accelerated the building of a strong Frankish commonwealth in western Europe.

Charlemagne created a régime whose might rested solely on his own broad shoulders. Master of Europe from the Spanish March to the Lower Danube, he exerted his enormous powers to organize the life of his people, to rescue what was left of Roman civilization, and to fashion needed institutions out of the chaotic state in which he found society. His vision far outran the ability of his helpers, who were unable to continue his plans after his death in 814. Nevertheless it was his personal achievement to make the break from imperial Rome complete and to initiate the independent life of medieval Europe. A renaissance of scholarship enlightened the mind of Europe. Moreover, during the Carolingian period feudalism fixed itself on the West. A

THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

whole new structure of social life thus supplanted the Roman polity:

1. Carolingian government made the king the commander of the army, the dispenser of justice, and the protector of the Church. Not an absolute ruler, he recognized that law was fundamentally ancient custom, to violate which would mean injustice and would likely provoke rebellion. Men see the beginning of democracy in that respect for law. The viewpoint is correct, for democracy is a government of laws rather than of men. Democracy, as a rule of the majority, may be quite as tyrannical and absolute as empire. But democracy also means respect for rights, as it likewise means respect for minorities; and the Frankish rule was based on those two principles. This respect was enforced, as it can only be enforced, by religious belief and the religious forces used by the Church. And a further element of democracy was present in Carolingian times: the traditional European method of local government by local powers, generally elected, and responsible to the people. As late as the French Revolution there were over twenty thousand French towns and villages with their own local election management, and the system had its origin in a time beyond historical record. The Oriental is ruled by one superior individual. The Occidental joins with his fellows to work out the proper law and policy, and appoints an administrator who carries out that law and policy as a servant of the commonwealth. And thus Charlemagne acted out of a sense of duty to his people, although he was not chosen for the office by popular election. His successors in later times would always be elected by the electors who acted in the name of the peoples of the empire.

2. The household officials of the ruler managed the empire.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

The chamberlain governed the palace and the royal treasure. The seneschal cared for the table and the estates. The butler watched over the wine and the vineyards. The marshal, or constable, in charge of the stable, held high command in the army. The chancellor, or chief chaplain, directed all correspondence and kept the records. Appointed counts replaced the hereditary dukes. Visitors, or *missi*, went the rounds with royal authority to correct injustices and to see that subjects obeyed the laws. Officers of government were honest and efficient. The ordinances, or 'capitularies,' of Charlemagne dealt with every phase of administration—education, the imperial estate, Italian affairs, public or private right—in an un-systematic but sincere effort to give the empire a statesman-like régime. Law continued to be a matter of local usage. Each region had its own popular court, presided over by a count or his appointed board of judges. Great assemblies called 'fields of May' met for the opening of new campaigns or the promulgation of important laws. The ancient tax system disappeared. In place of the tax, tribute was laid on the nobles at the assemblies, and they in turn collected minor tributes from their dependents.

3. Economic conditions deteriorated, in a decline that dated from the third century. The barbarian invasion turned back many districts from an urban to a rural economy. The vanishing of Roman contact cut the ties of trade; and the Moslem hold on Africa and Spain, together with their stoppage of such ports as Marseilles, put an end to ocean commerce and shipping tolls. The state of Charlemagne was entirely a construction of the mainland. The consequent fall in official revenue brought on decentralization in the government, and the same force induced the slow rise of an agricultural nobility

THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

on great estates. Cities became mere military positions or official residences of bishops. Cologne and Marseilles lost most of their inhabitants, as did the other urban centers. Land remained the only thing of value, and from the land sprang feudalism.

4. The manorial system grew out of the great estates of the later Roman Empire, which had already divided the arable land between proprietor and tenants. Each tenant had his own plot, given him in return for rents and labor owed to the proprietor. Slaves as well as *coloni* tilled the soil. The *coloni* were little better off than the slaves, for by a decree of Severus Alexander they had been affixed to the land as an economically dependent peasantry. When Roman government declined, authority was deputed to the great landlords, and the peasants thus became politically dependent on these men. They were their *homines*. Then came the Germanic barbarians, who took over part of the existing estates and merged into the prevailing Roman land system. By the time of Charlemagne there was no distinction between barbarian and Roman masters. Beneath this aristocracy, all dependent and subject persons became the villein class. In Carolingian times seigniorial exploitation was practically universal.

The nobles had their land grants, or *beneficia*. These benefices arose in two ways: by donation and by bequest. Charles Martel, to create his cavalry, forcibly took enough ecclesiastical lands to pay the cost of the horses. He got the cavalry by distributing the same lands to the nobles, lay and clerical, as benefices. The act formed a contract: he gave property for use, in return for service to be rendered—the kernel of feudalism. Both sides rendered services; one gave labor, the other protection. The second type of benefice arose when a small

HISTORY OF EUROPE

proprietor, to secure protection from oppressive exactions the nobility, gave his land to the Church and received it back as an estate held by gift of the Church. He did some small service in return for protection. Similarly a lord, a bishop, or an abbot might grant land to a stalwart adventurer who would fight in his defense. So too a destitute man might request land to gain a livelihood, and in return he would give service according to the agreement. The benefice was the land itself, as a productive property. Somewhat similar to the benefice was *commendation*, wherein a weaker man commended himself to one more powerful, thus forming a bond or tie denoting tenure of a landed estate and support in war. Commendation began in Carolingian times.

5. The Carolingian renaissance affected education and literature. For two hundred years intellectual interest and effort had been running low. Now Charles issued his famous capitulary on schools, sending a copy to every bishop and abbot in Frankland. From York he obtained the monk Alcuin, whom he made abbot of St. Martin of Tours and master of the palace school at Aachen. Alcuin is the father of the intellectual tradition extending down through Tours, Fulda, Rheims, St. Germain-des-Prés, and Chartres to the founding of the University of Paris in 1200. He drew up the plan for the famous seven liberal arts. He encouraged annalists and copyists, liberal studies, teacher training, and the preservation of classical literature.

6. This brilliant flash of empire died out when Charlemagne was succeeded by his son, Louis the Pious, who reigned until 840. No match for his father in statesmanship, he divided his kingdom among his sons. Civil war followed his death. Varying alliances and partnerships confused all issues, until the

THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

fierce battle of Fontenay taught the need of peace. The settlement reached was the epochal Treaty of Verdun in 843. Lothaire received the vertical section of Frankland running from Frisia down to northern Italy. This was Lotharingia. The kingdom of the West Franks went to Charles the Bald. Louis was given Germany. New divisions among their children multiplied the kingdoms, and rebel nobles created still more. Royalty came to be a title, with no rights beyond allegiance. The Carolingian Empire dissolved. Peril and desolation elevated feudal nobles, the great landowners, to posts of guardianship and command. Invading Danes and Normans harried the northern borders, the latter obtaining a grant of all Normandy as their new home. Saracens attacked the South, holding Provence until 972. Europe lived in terror during the Dark Ages.

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CHAPTER XX

England before the Conquest

THE nations of Europe rose out of the provinces of the dissolved Roman Empire. In Gaul the Merovingians took over the sovereignty and slowly built up the foundation of a new state. The center of ancient life, Rome, faded out of their vision, and in its stead appeared many local centers with their new elements in race, religion, and personal leadership. Imperialist absolutism gave way to kingship with its limited power, and the kings began to make their decrees by and with the consent of their councils.

In England, too, the Roman officialdom ceased to function in the name of the emperor. The preservation of law and order then devolved on the provincial militia, the landowners, and the Church. Out of this chaotic situation arose a nation that was destined to take the first place in Europe.

The century and a half from 447 to 597 left no record, aside from the legendary account of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons and of their ravaging of England. Christianity was driven westward to Wales and Ireland. A new society was in the making when St. Augustine of Canterbury arrived to begin the recivilization of the island. He found seven kingdoms there set up by the invaders. Another language had supplanted the Latin that in 200 was understood everywhere in the land. The new language was a compound of old British, Germanic, and Latin.

Of equal significance with the new language was the new

ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST

council, the Witan. Wherever new nations developed in place of the defunct Roman government, three factors were always present to aid in the transformation of society. They were (1) certain vague national feelings, older even than the Empire; (2) the economic forces of the great provincial land-owners; and (3) the living organization of the Catholic Church, the one institution that existed throughout the Empire in a vital, aggressive, progressive condition. These three factors, which saved and rebuilt civilization, embodied themselves in the standing council of great men about the king, with whom he made all decisions. They elected his successor and approved the major policies of state. In England the meeting of this council was called the Witanagemot. The Witan was composed partly of bishops, partly of thanes, or nobles-of-service, and partly of earls, or nobles-by-birth. The thanes served the king, and he in turn trusted them and gave them grants of crown land to sustain themselves.

The seven kingdoms were Wessex, Sussex, Essex, Kent, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. For a century after Augustine incessant warfare raged. Finally Wessex emerged as the one kingdom, uniting all England south of the Forth under Egbert (802-839). The king appointed the ealdormen to govern the shires, which were the earlier kingdoms. Greater shires were cut up into lesser ones, each of these under an appointed shire-reeve, or sheriff. There was no standing army. The fyrd, or militia, and retainers of local lords were called upon to suppress warfare should it break out. Land was held *of* someone, in a feudal relation; but no close allegiance bound the serf or churl, the knight,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

thane, and earl, to the king. In this last point Anglo-Saxon feudalism was much weaker politically than its continental counterpart.

1. Early Roman occupation made a unity of England. Disunity followed the withdrawal of the legions for a continental campaign in 407. Legendary Hengist and Horsa led the Anglo-Saxons to victory in 449, whereupon Roman and Christian civilization retreated to the West. In 597 Gregory I sent St. Augustine with his forty Benedictine monks to Christianize the island anew. King Ethelbert of Kent was converted, and with amazing rapidity the seven kingdoms accepted the new religion. Bishops were set over each tribal division. Monasteries arose on all sides. At the Synod of Whitby in 664 the Irish and the English were united on matters of liturgical practice.

2. A momentous intellectual change came with the entry of Irish and Scottish monks into Anglo-Saxon England. Lindisfarne, Weremouth-Jarrow, and Malmesbury were built, the first three forming one large and celebrated center for culture whither continental monks came for education, and where Venerable Bede († 735) was a renowned teacher and superior. Abbess Hilda typifies the remarkable women who occasionally ruled the double monasteries. Biscop, Theodore, Aldhelm, Hadrian, and Bede brightened the scholastic record. Bede was the source of the intellectual revival in the reign of Charlemagne. "Thus there sprang up in England a rich religious and aesthetic culture, formed of the fusion of Irish, Scottish, and Roman sources with the native Anglo-Saxon element. Nothing so variegated yet integrated, nothing so original and vital existed anywhere else in Western Europe."

ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST

The conversion of England ended its former isolation and put it into close contact with Frankish life. In both places there appeared the new nobility-of-service, the *antristiones*, or thanes; while simple freemen came to 'commend' their lands to some neighboring lord for protection and surety. Benedictine monasteries taught an orderly way of life and constructed a new rural economy. The example of unity in monastic and ecclesiastical government aided in the unification of the kingdoms. Zealous Anglo-Saxon monks, Willibrord, Winfrid (or Boniface), and others, made remarkable missionary expeditions along the Rhine and founded numerous monasteries, chief of them the illustrious Fulda. These English developments vindicated the wisdom and foresight of Gregory the Great.

3. Danes in their long Viking ships came on regular incursions after 794, and in 879 Alfred the Great had to cede to them all the northeast as the Danelaw. Their attack resembled that of the Mohammedans in Spain, where Don Pelayo was another Alfred. This heroic Saxon figure, who ruled from 871 to 900, was forced to take refuge in the far southwest. There he gathered his scattered forces and began the long reconquest of his country. At last the Danish Guthrum was made to sign a peace wherein he agreed to accept Christianity for himself and his followers, and to recognize as belonging to Alfred all the lands south of a line from Chester to the mouth of the Thames. In the time of Edred the Danelaw was cleared of the Scandinavians. They came back again and held the crown of England from 1017 to 1042. Power then reverted to the Saxon line, to be kept until the advent of the great William of Normandy. The attacks of the Danes left little impress on English life beyond a number of place-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

names and a certain hardening of resistance to invaders. For a time they wrecked the learning and monastic life of England, and Alfred devoted his powers to a restoration of culture in his land. He began the Anglo-Saxon chronicle and patronized scholars, poets, and musicians. He is the hero of early England.

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CHAPTER XXI

The Beginnings of France and Germany

THE barbarian efforts to form governments in place of the weakening Roman Empire everywhere met with failure in their early stages. Too crude was the force they applied to refined civilization. That civilization now retrograded to a simpler agricultural society, and out of it a rugged leadership created a new type of commonwealth. The foundations of these new states were laid in the years after 400. Building on those foundations the English, French, and Germans worked to form their governments, at first in a feudal system, finally in the spirit of nationality.

Charlemagne strove for a noble ideal—that of one empire and one Christendom. After his death his dream of political unity was submerged in a series of divisions and civil wars. The Treaty of Verdun in 843 attempted to canonize the principle of many kingdoms in one empire, many realities in one fictitious unity. But when the Carolingians died out, central weakness and locally strong aristocracy made a permanent split between the East Franks and the West Franks, and from this division came two great European peoples. The Carolingians lost France in 987 to Hugh Capet, and ceased to hold Germany after the death of Louis the Child, their last representative. In the place of Louis the sons of the Saxon Liudolf won the Saxon crown, and the famous German duchies of Saxony, Bavaria, and Suabia began their

HISTORY OF EUROPE

historic course. The Saxon, Salian, Suabian or Hohenstaufen, and Habsburg dynasties succeeded one another as the new Holy Roman Empire emerged in Europe.

i. The Saxon Conrad was elected king by the German magnates in 911, the first non-Carolingian king of Germany. Henry the Fowler succeeded him after seven years. The third and pre-eminent Saxon king was Otto I (937-973). In 955 Otto won a great victory over the Hungarians. In 962 he marched down into Italy as a 'pacifier,' and there he was crowned by the pope as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Carolingian Empire was dead.

The career of Otto the Great laid the basis for German national union. His conquest of the Hungarians at Lechfeld established their land as the Eastmark, the nucleus of the later Austria. In the north the Mark of Brandenburg was created. Missionaries and colonists went among the Slavs to the northeast, and there too new monasteries civilized and Christianized the peasants along the Oder and the Vistula. Everywhere within the imperial boundaries—roughly the Rhine, the Danube, and the Oder—the crown of iron and gold became a symbol of unity, holding together a group of peoples who had hitherto shown themselves most individualistic. With pride they now referred to their Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Indeed, though any European ruler was theoretically eligible for the office, in practice the imperial title remained a German possession.

After the passing of the Carolingians, the principle of inheritance was replaced by election of each emperor. For a time all the higher nobility had the right to cast a vote. Custom slowly changed this situation. Finally in 1356 the Golden Bull fixed a permanent system. Thereafter the seven electors

THE BEGINNINGS OF FRANCE AND GERMANY

were the three archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and the four secular princes: the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

The emperor was the titular head of all government in Europe, for the Holy Roman Empire, in its universal rule, claimed direct descent from the old Roman Empire. In practice the regime was marked by local liberty, sectional leadership, provincial independence, and so much factional quarrelling that the princes had need of the Truce of God, whereby the popes kept them from war for most of the days of the year. Each emperor, after election, sought to be crowned by the pope, to signify, not that the pope held supreme power in both Church and State, but that the pope as the universal moral guide approved the justice of the election and crowned a man who would assist and protect the Church. Similarly, each emperor approved the election of the pope, to show that it was done with all good form and propriety. But he never crowned a pope in token of supremacy over the Church. In the medieval mind there was one great world within which all men lived, and there were two harmonious societies to care for all men, the Church and the State.

2. Hugh Capet was crowned king of France in 987 by Bishop Adalberon of Rheims. His crowning followed the death of Louis V, the last Carolingian king of France. The weakness of the monarchy had given rise to the spread of feudal government. There were now twelve separate jurisdictions in France, of which the king held only one. Another of these jurisdictions was held by the Normans, who after 840 had become such a worry to the kings that in 911 Charles the Simple granted the duchy of Normandy to Rolf as to his

HISTORY OF EUROPE

duke and vassal. Hugh Capet, duke of France, had the homage of almost all the nobles from the Loire to Flanders. He also held territories elsewhere throughout France and was related to many of its nobles. Events played into his hands and made him the most important man in his country as he won the allegiance or destroyed the power of rival dukes. His crowning by Adalberon meant only that a new dynasty ruled the county on the Seine. But this dynasty was young and strong, and it was supported on all sides by blood and feudal alliance. The nobles who elected him thought that they would rule him. Their hopes were vain. He made the theory of kingship a fact. The Capetian family and its branches remained sovereign until the French Revolution.

3. The Normans poured down over France, and the Magyars into Germany and Italy, in the second great wave of barbarian invasions. These Normans were the most remarkable of all migrating races. They excelled in organization and in mastery of practical situations, whether in fighting, building, governing, or adapting institutions, when once they became a part of civilized society. Their early depredations were many: raids on Brittany, Gascony, Spain; the burning of Utrecht, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, and Seville; the capture of Pisa and Luna in Italy, of Wexford in Ireland. In 865 they attacked Constantinople. Here they were known as the Rhos, or Russian Vikings—the Varangians of the great Rurik who had come to rule Novgorod. In 886-887 they besieged Paris, only to be driven away by Odo, count of Paris. This siege was a turning point, and the Normans were happy to be offered the Duchy of Normandy in 911 on the sole conditions of conversion to Christianity and vassalage to the count of Paris.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FRANCE AND GERMANY

Once settled in Normandy, they worked with wonderful success to organize and consolidate their institutions. They made feudalism strong, and unified it by personal allegiance to their duke. Their capital, Rouen, flourished. Great monasteries, such as that of Bec brought forth fruits of learning, architecture, administration, and leaders of men. Their influence was permanent, substantial, elevating. In 1066 the throne of England was claimed by William of Normandy. His victory at Hastings is basic in the story of England and of Europe.

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CHAPTER XXII

The Great Medieval Conflict

EUROPE in the eleventh century was brought up sharply against the basic human conflict, a conflict between spiritual ideals and material force. In theory the absolutism of Roman law had passed. In fact the German emperors not infrequently considered themselves above all individuals and societies. To such exaggerated imperialists the Church was merely a department of the State. Meantime Christianity had become strong enough to demand a recognition of its rights of freedom from civil tyranny. The two forces met in the historic struggle between Gregory VII and Henry IV.

The result of this critical event was proclaimed as a tremendous victory for religion. Had the imperial argument prevailed, very likely religion would long have kept its pagan place as a tool of the governing classes. Medieval democracy might never have appeared. The rights of individuals and of minorities would have remained an empty statement of theoretical politics. Instead, the doctrine of the higher law—that all men, kings most of all, are under the law—won the fight, and Europe burst forth in a tremendous enthusiasm for the crusades and creative living. Liberty, which as Lord Acton says is tested by the regard shown the just claims of minorities, brought forth a multitude of free institutions. It was the vindicated respect for individual and corporate right that made possible universities, guilds, hos-

THE GREAT MEDIEVAL CONFLICT

pitals, *montes pietatis*, chantries, chivalry, charters, and parliaments.

1. Germany took over the rôle of Charlemagne when Otto I became emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 962, receiving the imperial title as a pure gift of the papacy. His successors followed his example of toleration for the great German duchies, mingled with a demand for supreme honor and obedience from all the vassals. Soon after the Treaty of Verdun Lotharingia had been broken into four kingdoms: Lorraine, Italy, Provence, and Burgundy. By 1032 Conrad II had added them all to the imperial domain. And yet, except for Franconia, his personal province, the emperor had little control over local governments. In fact, Conrad II in 1037 recognized heredity of tenure for all who 'held of' his Italian vassals, thus admitting their feudal right and his lack of jurisdiction. The one overmastering concern of the emperors was to have loyal vassals who would stand with them in time of rebellion, and to the Church they turned to obtain this stability. The Church was stable. They would bind the churchmen to themselves by feudal homage, and in that union they would obtain security for the State.

2. Italy after 900 lacked all political unity, despite its title of kingdom. Civil war was rampant. Former duchies broke into fragments. Greeks and Saracens ravaged the southern shores. The Papal States were caught in a maze of intrigue and violence under the exploitation of the family of Theophylact. The eleventh century found the Norman adventurers creating a remarkable state, based on Sicily, under Robert Guiscard, who in 1059 was accepted by the pope as a vassal and named duke of Apulia and Calabria. These Normans

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ousted the Mohammedans and laid the foundations for an eventful kingship in the following century.

3. The Church in the tenth century, like all the other institutions of Europe, suffered much from civil warfare and the breakdown of order. In many places its bishops had been feudal lords for decades. Ecclesiastical properties were fiefs, often gained by crude methods. Bishoprics, abbacies, and parishes were solicited from patrons. The age-old law of celibacy became relaxed. The turmoil of feudal clashes brought unworthy candidates to office, sometimes to the highest places.

4. The papacy, except during the reign of Sylvester II (999-1003), was in serious difficulties until it was rescued by the men trained in the Cluniac movement. As the head of the States of the Church the pope should have been independent of feudal connections, yet the current of the times caught these states in the general Italian maelstrom and they were fought over as fiefs or appealed to as lords-protector of the weak. In the mind of the day the highest earthly allegiance was that of vassal to lord, and no one held property unless he held it *of* someone. The result was that the popes were made a part of Italian politics, and the papacy as the leader of public opinion fell far behind the place it had enjoyed under Leo the Great or the first Gregory. Cluny in Burgundy, in the day of its great abbot Odilo (994-1049), began to inspire monasticism and all the Church with a new spirit. By its charter Cluny, unlike other monasteries, did homage to no lord. Its monks lived according to the Benedictine rule, subject only to the pope, instead of being subjected, as was common, to some local chieftain with the consequent decay of religious discipline. The Cluniacs had only one real interest: not to remodel the relation of the Church and State in all

THE GREAT MEDIEVAL CONFLICT

Europe, but to invigorate religion in the Benedictine houses. Cluny produced a host of great preachers, statesmen, and reformers, but few scholars. The need of the day was leaders of men, and the movement gave to the Church two remarkable popes, Leo IX and Gregory VII.

5. The conflict came over imperial pretensions. As the highest feudal lord in Europe, Henry IV (1066-1106) was asked by Gregory to end the feudal practice of lay investiture. He refused, and spiritual warfare was on. Lay investiture—a layman, king or prince, investing a new bishop with his insignia of spiritual office, with crosier, miter, and ring—had been growing since 800 and was widely practiced. Its desirability as a means of stabilizing the Empire has been mentioned above. In itself it was improper; and it was productive of evil in deepening the impression that the Church was a part of, and subject to, the civil government. To correct this last point in public opinion was imperative in that day, but no pope dared to do it until the Cluniac movement prepared Europe to back the idea of freeing religion from imperial domination. It should be noted that lay investiture did not pretend to appoint the bishop or to give him sacramental power, but to give him subjects, according to the feudal idea of the day that a king might give a benefice, or fief, and the people living thereon to a vassal prince. This was easily confused with the Catholic notion that the pope must allot spiritual subjects to a bishop, seeing that he is supreme in spiritual jurisdiction within the Church. The lay ruler might not confer the symbols of episcopal power, inasmuch as he had no right to confer the power itself.

Leo IX (1049-1054) began the work of reform, traveling through France and Germany, rooting out simony, and sus-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

pending non-celibate clergymen. Nicholas II (1158-1161) decreed in 1159 that only cardinals might elect the pope, and he strove to end simony and lay investiture. The issue came to a climax under Gregory VII (1073-1085).

Gregory, or Hildebrand according to his family name, rose to the occasion. His opponent was the emperor Henry IV. In 1075 a papal mandate ordered that only ecclesiastics might confer ecclesiastical offices. Henry, dazzled by his civil victories over the German princes, scorned the decree. Summoning his bishops, he had them declare Gregory a usurper. The answer of Gregory placed his position on the matter beyond all doubt. Every king, being a man and a Christian, was subject to the discipline of the Church for his sins. Henry had been warned but had retaliated by an attack on the pope. For this he was excommunicated; and the pope, affirming that Henry ruled unjustly, stated that his subjects were free to elect another in his place. They welcomed the opportunity—Henry IV had made himself distinctly unpopular—and declared him deposed unless within a year he secured absolution. The famous meeting of Canossa followed in January of 1077. Gregory the priest forgot about Gregory the temporal ruler and absolved Henry. It was a notable moral victory for the Church and for the doctrine of natural right and the higher law. Instead of *rex* over *lex*, henceforth men would find *lex* over *rex*. This was the Christian idea in political theory.

The issue in the quarrel had not been a papal wish to rule over Germany, nor the imperial desire to rule the Papal States, but the freedom of the Church to exist and to prosecute her mission, especially as regarded the liberty of the pope to appoint his own bishops. It was not presumption on the part of Gregory but an attack by the emperor. The Au-

THE GREAT MEDIEVAL CONFLICT

gustinian idea conquered—the idea of peace as “the tranquillity of order,” which involved staying in one’s proper place and respecting the rights of others. The same issue would be faced again in the times of Innocent III, Innocent IV, and Boniface VIII, though in a way that was complicated by the papal headship of the States of the Church. Here it was a clear-cut case of material force against spiritual power. The latter won, and Europe was swept with enthusiasm into the crusade of 1095.

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¹ An emotional version; students may substitute the treatment of the topic presented in Carl Stephenson, *Medieval History*, New York, 1935, 305-319.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Crusades

AS EUROPE emerged from the Dark Ages and the basic conflict between the pope and the emperor, the Continent was stirred by a tremendous enthusiasm for service in the cause of religion. It was a complex motive, indeed, that aroused the peoples. The idealism of chivalry sought service in high enterprise. Loyalty to the papacy brought support from all sides. Kings desired renown in great achievement. Venetian merchants and ship-
pers looked for commercial advantage. Europeans generally were ready to deal a blow to the ever-threatening Moslems. With the cry of "God wills it" on their lips, peasant and noble, bishop and friar set out on the religious conquest.

The crusades were a united movement of feudal Europe, under the banner of the reformed papacy, for the recovery of the Holy Land. Between 1095 and 1271 seven great Christian armies, and many lesser ones, crossed the seas on their campaign to redeem the holy places. For seventy-five years a Christian kingdom of Jerusalem stood guard over ground sacred to the memory of the Passion of Christ. Though later efforts to regain the Holy City proved futile, the crusading spirit took hold of the nations and produced a remarkable advance in European culture.

1. The story is variously written. Some authors, lacking an understanding of the Christian motives, write a caricature or a story of psychological aberration and violence. Others pro-

THE CRUSADES

duce ephemeral romances. Finally, some scholars combine knowledge with the correct point of view, that of the contemporaries who lived through the crusades. Typical of the first group is J. H. Robinson; of the third, E. Barker.

2. Urban II (1089-1099) had been a monk of Cluny and a helper of Gregory VII. Learned for his day, of goodly mien and speech, with the ideals of Cluny and the mantle of Gregory upon him, he was one of the greatest historic leaders of men. From the first days of his reign he had blessed those who strove to oust the Moslems from Europe. Now he conceived the magnificent and truly Roman ideal of leading a united movement of Christian knighthood for the reconquest of the Holy Land. To carry out his plan he called the clergy and lay lords to the famous Council of Clermont in 1095, and there delivered a most stirring oration. The host raised the cry "God wills it" and 'took the cross'—two crossed ribbons sewn on the cloak. Peter the Hermit inspired the masses. Most of western Europe joined the forces marching on Palestine. In 1099 Geoffrey of Bouillon was crowned king of Jerusalem. His successors reigned until 1174.

3. The West in 1095 was a growing youth, strong, of good principle, eager to follow the knightly code summed up by Tennyson in the words: "Live pure, speak truth, right wrong, follow the King. Else wherefore born?" For three centuries there had been movements against the Mohammedans. In Sicily the Moslems were fought by the Normans under Robert Guiscard. Robert too aimed to become emperor of the Eastern Empire, and in 1085 died while seeking that glory. The trading fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa beat back the Saracens toward Africa. Into this militant spirit Urban II infused the higher motive of sacrifice for the honor of Christ

HISTORY OF EUROPE

and His Mother. Despite the occasionally base conduct of greedy adventurers, the crusaders maintained their noble purpose through six generations of heroic endeavor.

4. In the East the Empire was suffering under tyrannical force and lawless strife. The dying Macedonian dynasty left a heritage of riches, refinement, and luxurious living. In 1054 the Greek Orthodox Church, which had been drifting away from Rome since 867, now made the separation final, and under Michael Cerularius agreed to accept its doctrines and its policies from Constantinople. As the great popes arose in the West, the East went into schism, drawing with it all the peoples beyond Poland and Germany. Eastern culture lost its vigor as the rulers of the Byzantine Church, tied to the emperors, abandoned their spiritual independence.

5. The Seljuk Turks left their homes on the confines of China and Persia and started westward. Adopting Islamism, at first they became mercenary soldiers for Asiatic princes. Soon they took the princedoms, and themselves became rulers. In 1055 they captured Baghdad; and fourteen years later, at Manzibert, they destroyed the army of Constantinople and doomed the Empire as a military power. They set up their capital at Nicea—the present Scutari—in 1080, and marched on to capture Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem. Their defiling of the holy places stirred the hearts of the new Europe and led directly to the crusades.

6. The high points in the long and continuous crusading movement were these:

1096-1099. First Crusade—Geoffrey of Bouillon, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois, Bohemond of Otranto, Robert of Normandy, Raymond of Toulouse.

THE CRUSADES

1147-1149. Second Crusade—Conrad of Germany, Louis VII of France.

1189-1191. Third Crusade—Frederick I of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, Richard I (Coeur de Lion) of England.

1203-1204. Fourth Crusade—Doge Dandolo of Venice, Marquis of Montferrat.

1212. Children's Crusade.

1217-1221. Fifth Crusade—Andrew of Hungary, Leopold VI of Austria.

1228-1229. Sixth Crusade—Emperor Frederick II.

1248; 1254-1271. Seventh Crusade—Louis IX of France, Edward I of England.

The crusades resulted in a stimulus to the life of western Europe:

a) in the *spirit*, in holiness and intellectual progress—universities, studies, literature, songs, ballads, science, philosophy, theology;

b) in *material development*—town building, civic and sacred architecture, shipping, new methods and commodities of trade.

c) in the *growth of nations*—English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German.

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CHAPTER XXIV

England and France to 1216

THE crusades were the result of a deep movement that stirred the European spirit in the eleventh century. This same century saw another epochal development in the Norman conquest of England.

The Normans were a brilliant race but recently risen above the stage of sea-rovers and pirates. Invested by Charles the Simple with the province of Normandy in 911 as a kind of bribe to stop their constant invasions, they turned from their half-civilized marauding expeditions to a career of material and political reconstruction. By 1066 they had formed a closely knit and efficient governmental system. Their religious zeal won them papal favor, and their military might and skillful diplomacy allied most of the great French houses to their cause. Their last need for international importance was a leader of exceptional character, and they had the man in William the Conqueror.

England in that day lay weakened and distracted after the alien Danish rule of Cnut and his sons. Edward the Confessor (1054-1066) was powerless to rescue the governing classes from their feuds and enmities. On the death of Edward, William of Normandy appeared at Pevensey with fifty thousand mailed cavalry. Those men were filled with enthusiasm for their duke and had an implicit belief in the religious justice of his claim to the English throne. The Battle of Hastings in that year broke the forces of King Harold

ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO 1216

and gave to England a new master, who saved her from internal dissolution and built for her a government that is the most venerable in age among the nations of the world.

1. William proceeded after Hastings to lead his army all over England and subdue each separate shire. In this way he made his title to land and loyalty triply strong: by inheritance, by surrender, and by conquest. With his right thus fortified, he exacted an oath of allegiance to his person from every landholder in the land, to gain complete feudal support and to solidify his throne. To his Norman host sixty thousand fiefs were distributed, the best land of the country, and most of it. In return each knight, through the oath, was bound to military and feudal service. Six hundred barons received great estates and became tenants-in-chief, though with their lands divided into parcels to prevent rebellion. In 1085 he had a careful census made of all the lands and inhabitants, and the record became the famous Domesday Book. William introduced into England the Norman council, the *curia regis*, to be his executive, judicial, and fiscal body. Through this council he ruled the country as no king had done before, and few since. He was a monarch in fact as well as in name.

William placed Normans in most of the official positions, and at his request the pope introduced them into bishoprics and abbacies. Among those Norman appointees the most notable was Lanfranc, abbot of Bec, who became archbishop of Canterbury. This change in personnel brought the Church in England to a high point of morale, and the energy thus released created an era of notable building, education, hospital work, and monastic life. Gothic architecture then arose in England. The Norman language and customs superseded

HISTORY OF EUROPE

those of the Anglo-Saxons. Thompson says that "there have been few abler men or greater rulers than William the Conqueror." He preserved feudalism as a social and economic régime, but he made it forever impossible as a form of government in England, because of the personal oath taken to him by every knight, lord, and baron. The will of the king as executive was supreme.

2. The conquest, by planting a wedge between England-Normandy and France, gave a wholly new turn to the history of northwestern Europe. In Paris Louis VI (1108-1137) kept a watchful eye on the successors of William while he forced his own nobles into submission. He acted just in time, for a royal marriage was about to bring to England the Anjou inheritances of all northeastern France. In 1154 the heir of that marriage, Henry Plantagenet, came to the throne of England as Henry II; and, to make matters more troublesome for the French, he came as the husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose lands reached down the Atlantic to the Bay of Biscay and the Pyrenees. The French, thus hemmed in, labored to form a strong government and gradually undermine the power of England. Making use of traitorous English princes, Louis VII (1137-1180) and Philip Augustus (1180-1223) weakened the hold of the Plantagenets on France. In 1204 the French king retook half of the Angevin 'empire' on the basis of a feudal penalty against King John (John Lackland). And at Bouvines in 1214 Philip Augustus decisively defeated the English alliance. Thenceforth France became a powerful continental kingdom.

3. In England the Norman rule after William I proved so chaotic and ineffectual that the barons began to build their own strongholds for protection in the incessant wars. But

ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO 1216

when Henry II (1154-1189) inaugurated the Angevin, or Plantagenet, dynasty, he brought to England peace and a sound government. In his first year he received Ireland as a fief—not a happy episode in Irish tradition. His English feudal barons were subdued. Norman legal institutions were adopted in the sworn inquest of twelve witnesses and the assizes, or court ordinances, such as those of Clarendon, Northampton, Arms, and Woodstock. Reform of the Church, necessitated by the long civil wars, led to Henry's famous conflict with St. Thomas à Becket. Becket, as chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, took issue with the king on the matter of clerical trials. His death, at the hands of misguided royal henchmen, made him a martyr and his shrine the most famous in Europe, while his cause won public support for ecclesiastical immunity.

4. John Lackland (1199-1216) lost much and gave much to England. In 1204 he forfeited Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou to the French king. In 1213 he made England a vassal kingdom to Pope Innocent III, to secure papal protection against his barons and the king of France. On June 12, 1215 at Runnymede he was forced to approve the great charter, the Magna Charta, as the alternative to deposition at the hands of his nobles under the lead of Cardinal Stephen Langton. In the Magna Charta John agreed to respect the ancient liberties of the laws of Edward the Confessor. It was a contract between king and barons, insuring the fulfillment of his coronation oath and the historic rights and privileges of the barons. It was not democracy in the sense of rule of the people, or rule of the majority, but it was democratic in the promise to rule *for* the people with respect for the rights of the royal subjects. And the force used was

HISTORY OF EUROPE

brought to bear on the king by representatives of the people, even though this representation meant the threats of feudal lords rather than of directly elected appointees of the people. Its great importance was the statement, on a formal occasion, of royal responsibility under the higher law, and it would be appealed to many times in subsequent history.

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CHAPTER XXV

The Hohenstaufen in Germany and Italy

BY A HISTORICAL paradox the western lands farthest from Rome came rapidly to reconstruction after the demise of the Empire. On the other hand Germany, which had inherited the mantle of the emperor, and Italy, where the ancient commonwealth had been centered, continued for centuries in a state of political chaos. It is but another proof of the outstanding importance of knowing what is meant by the fall of Rome. Formerly a unit, Europe became atomic, a multiplicity of dissociated units. The refined and complex civilization fell apart under the barbarian successors of the emperor, and things went to the extreme most opposed to Roman organic unity—that is, to feudalism. Where the shadow of the imperial power remained, there the newly coalescing nations grew most slowly. Where the shadow fell lightly or not at all, the fresh vitality of Europe produced the organized commonwealths of France and England.

The above observation is political and should not be confused with a statement of social affairs or of the complicated thing that is called 'life in the Middle Ages.' Germany and Italy were quite as productive and vigorous as their more westerly rivals. The two, however, were bound to face a hard struggle before they acquired the strong political fiber of the distant kingdoms. In England and France racial and linguistic stock became simplified quite early. Italy, and es-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

pecially Germany with its position as the borderland of Europe, were melting pots whose elements were slow to melt. England and France were geographical units. Germany was not; and Italy, though sea-bordered, was by that very fact exposed to every kind of outside influence and deprived of the internal cohesion characteristic of a land unit. The two countries experienced constant irritation from their nearness to the decadent East, and the very existence of the German claim to imperial domain and power prevented smaller and better-knit states from arising within these territories.

Their political history is, then, the story of ruling dynasties in internal turmoil or in contact and conflict with the papacy. It will be recalled that Charlemagne dominated Italy, that the Treaty of Verdun gave Italy to the king of Lotharingia, that Otto I in 962 claimed it for his new Holy Roman Empire, and that Conrad II in 1032 reasserted Germanic right in the peninsula. Only the States of the Church remained independent, and in the eleventh century the popes began to act as feudal lords over several districts that had become enfeoffed to them. It was not that the popes claimed universal feudal power or political power. They claimed universal religious or spiritual power, and all Christians, whether lords or vassals, were subject to their moral decision and absolution; on this score more than one prince was declared unworthy and his people absolved of obedience to him, until he made his peace with his soul. But it was their feudal position that brought them into political conflict; not their spiritual status, which all Christians recognized as supernatural and supreme. It is absolutely essential to realize the



HOLY ROMAN
EMPIRE
ABOUT 1190 A.D.

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MOHAMMEDA

THE HOHENSTAUFEN IN GERMANY AND ITALY

fourfold power of the medieval popes over temporalities. They acted (1) as rulers of the Papal States, (2) as feudal lords, (3) as recognized arbiters in disputes between Christian princes, and (4) as spiritual heads of the Church who were thereby vested with an indirect power in temporal affairs wherever a moral or religious issue arose.

1. Saxons were emperors from Henry the Fowler to Henry II, from 919 to 1024. The next century (1024-1125) found the Salians of Franconia in power, from Conrad II to Henry V. Conrad III in 1139 opened the Hohenstaufen line—of Suabia—which held the imperial office until the Habsburg Rudolph was elected in 1273. That famous family kept the exalted title thenceforward—except for the period 1308-1438—until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon in 1806.

2. Welfs or Guelphs were dukes of Bavaria. Defeated in the election of 1139, which elevated the Hohenstaufen Conrad III to the imperial dignity, they consistently opposed the absolutist emperors and sought for themselves and other German states respect for feudal rights and privileges. Others who tried to protect their natural rights often sided with these defenders of feudal rights. In the time of the Hohenstaufens they joined the opponents of the emperors, and thus it came about that in Italy a Guelph party arose, an anti-imperial class which countered every effort of the Hohenstaufens to destroy local liberty and to absorb the Italian cities and principalities under their imperial aegis. The popes were always Guelph. Partisans of the Empire were called Ghibellines.

3. Lombard centers such as Milan and Pisa developed in the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

twelfth century. These walled towns prospered through the industry and commerce evoked by the crusades. Their people constituted a new middle class, neither nobles nor vassal serfs, urban rather than rural, merchants and traders who gradually superseded the agricultural population that had everywhere appeared after the dissolution of Rome. Their political aim was the possession of self-government free from control by any feudal prince.

4. Frederick I (1152-1190), surnamed Barbarossa or Red Beard, in his dreams pictured himself in the rôle of a revived Augustus, an omnicompetent emperor. Five times he invaded Italy to suppress the Lombard cities. In this effort he failed. In Germany, however, he succeeded in disrupting the Guelph power and the Duchy of Saxony, carving up his empire into nearly three hundred petty estates (his uncle Conrad III had established Austria and Brandenburg in 1142). He found the papacy steadily hostile to his scheme of absorbing the Italian feudal estates and fiefs, a part of which, the Matildan lands, were the object of constant contention. His son Henry VI added the Norman kingdom by conquest in 1194. Henry VI died in 1197, and after further civil war the infant Frederick II (1197-1250) became his successor. In Frederick II Roman absolutism appeared in full dress. His conflicts with the papacy form a special episode in his rule. His famous Constitution of Amalfi in 1231 abolished feudal taxes and feudal justice and privilege, thus rendering all subjects equal under his supreme jurisdiction. He united his maternal inheritance, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to the German realm. His warring days were spent in efforts to conquer the rest of free Italy. Frederick lived more like a cultured Mohammedan than a Christian prince, though on

THE HOHENSTAUFEN IN GERMANY AND ITALY

his deathbed he ordered restitution for all the wrongs of his reign.

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CHAPTER XXVI

Church and State in the Thirteenth Century

THE high point of medieval life was reached in the thirteenth century. By that time Europe had lifted itself out of the Dark Ages and had built remarkably harmonious and active society. Among its most notable characteristics was the relation between the two supreme institutions, Church and State.

The City of God, as has been seen elsewhere, laid down as the objective of life the attainment of eternal happiness through an orderly and peaceful life in this terrestrial city. For that order a unity of direction was necessary, in the Church in matters of belief and morality, in the State for the political association of men. Their happy accord was sought in the mutual understanding and parallel action of pope and emperor, each, as Pope Gelasius I († 494) had said, competent in his own sphere. Augustine warned his readers of the dangers latent in temporal power, particularly in absolute power. Excess of material force has always degraded the user and his victim. It is harder to abuse spiritual power, from the nature of the case; for the user always knows that he is purely a vicar, an agent, who acts in virtue of a Higher Power to whom he is responsible.

Both papacy and Empire had now exercised their public functions for centuries, and their powers were accorded a reverence that equaled the popular gratitude for their benefits. The papacy stood at the head of the sacramental hier-

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

archy and ministry of the Church, which had never deviated from the office for which it had been established. To the people the Church was a pure good and universally loved.

More difficult was the situation of the civil ruler. His work of control could not fail to irritate his subjects and arouse envy among other claimants to power, and the imperial office never hoped to rival the papacy in popular support and popular sympathy. Nevertheless the Holy Roman Empire carried out its historic mission of defense against the East and of providing the large framework within which the religion, the culture, and the trade of Middle Europe could go on. Statesmen have said that, if there had been no empire, one would have had to be created, so necessary was a great overgovernment in that region.

The newer states, Spain (1000) and Portugal (1140), likewise received their inspiration from the Augustinian tradition. If they and the Empire sometimes quarreled with the popes, the cause was rarely an opposition to spiritual supremacy. It was something quite different—the peculiar feudal position of the medieval popes.

Medieval feudal principles (to be treated in the following chapter) enabled a lord to receive into his homage either conquered territories or those voluntarily seeking his protection. The pope, as the hereditary ruler of the States of the Church, was a feudal prince, but one in the unique position of having universal spiritual lordship combined with limited temporal power. Alliance with him for protection was thus doubly valuable. And he was the court of universal appeal, both in spiritual cases and in temporal quarrels. If a

HISTORY OF EUROPE

man so exceptional as Innocent III held the office, the papacy was sure to excel all other feudal sovereigns in honor, dignity, and influence. Sometimes this feudal position involved mistakes and hostilities. In the main, however, the papacy conferred immeasurable benefits on the politics of Europe, and most of all in the thirteenth century.

In that period no conflicts took place between Church and State. Quarrels occurred rather between popes and individual princes, whose people did not enter into the quarrels. The people were locally ruled—by feudal lords, by town guilds, or by bishops—and they rarely thought of king or emperor as their sovereign. There was no State in the modern sense. The modern State was a later product. It first appeared in England, partially under William the Conqueror, increasingly under Edward III, and finally in full swing in Tudor times.

i. Innocent III (1198-1216) was challenged by events in the Empire, in France, and in England. In regard to Germany he asserted his traditional medieval right to review a disputed election, finally approving Otto of Saxony. Meanwhile he kept young Frederick II, heir to Sicily, as his ward. The affair aroused much partisan spirit. In France the king, Philip Augustus, was excommunicated for divorcing his wife, Ingeborg, and after some difficulty Philip submitted. John of England interfered in the election of the archbishop of Canterbury, and Innocent saw to it that the immortal Stephen Langton was chosen in a free election. When John was threatened with deposition by his barons, he enfeoffed his country to the pope in order to save his kingship. Innocent III held as feudal vassals the rulers and lands of Aragon, Bul-

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

garia, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, and Sicily.

Innocent III claimed no supreme temporal authority for the popes. It is true that he held wide feudal power, and he exercised still wider jurisdiction in adjudicating civil cases. His tremendous influence was partially due to his own magnificent personality, commanding intelligence and integrity, and to his strong sense of honor and justice. In discussing his position he said that "Pontifex judicat in rebus temporalibus solum casualiter"—when no other competent judge could be found—and that the pope had no business in temporal concerns unless the supreme good of Christendom were at stake. He quoted the statement made by St. Bernard of Clairvaux to Pope Eugene III: "In criminibus, non in possessionibus, potestas vestra!"

Under Innocent III the papacy had a political power greater than that of any other government in Europe. The justice of this position was supported by many writers, from Augustine and Gregory I on through Hincmar, Otto von Freising, Gregory VII, Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, Innocent III, Thomas Aquinas, Boniface VIII, John XXII, and Gregory XII. Those who opposed the right as contrary to Roman law or to their own views were Irnerius, Henry IV, the Legists of France, Marsiglio of Padua, Ockham, Wyclif, and Huss.

2. Innocent IV (1243-1254) was, like many of his immediate predecessors, a renowned canon lawyer, an able administrator, and a strong protagonist against imperial assumptions of absolute power. He defended Italy from absorption by the Empire and Frederick II. He worked with Henry III of England to improve ecclesiastical conditions on the island.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

At the same time he was opposed by the British barons for naming Italians to English sees and for collecting church revenues on a new and large scale.

3. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) was harshly treated by his contemporaries and by subsequent historians who carelessly accepted the manufactured records left by the partisans of Philip the Fair (1285-1314). In his conflict with this truculent prince he issued the famous edict *Unam Sanctam*, in which he clearly stated the doctrine of the 'two swords,' the spiritual and the temporal, both independent in their own sphere and demanding mutual harmony, both respecting the supreme importance of the spiritual and eternal good in matters of differing opinion. He did not teach the right of the popes to dominate kings in civil matters. (On this point cf. Denziger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 218, note.)

The Legists of Philip IV (the Fair) rediscovered the Roman absolutist state. The royal refusal to be guided by the papacy in this conflict with Boniface VIII marks the turning point in the influence of the medieval papacy over political affairs. The rising power of kings made them impatient of any check. They became increasingly absolute, "a law unto themselves." At that point the Middle Ages began to decline.

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CHAPTER XXVII

Medieval Government

HISTORY was defined by Freeman as "past politics." In a sense this is true, for the story of the past is the story of social or group life, whose highest natural activity is seen in politics or the State. The most difficult, as also the most dynamic, corporate human work is the designing, the organizing, and the administering of a constitution in the State for which it is made. For this reason historians hold it in honor and give it first place in their narrative of the past.

The medieval achievement in government is strikingly opposed to Roman forms and ideas. The truth is that Europe had to be civilized over again after the vanishing of the Roman Empire. The Roman idea of supreme and delegated authority yielded to the contrary idea of the individual and freely given oath of allegiance. Roman governors held a subordinate power descending from the source of all right and power, the emperor. In its place we find the authority of the medieval thanes, counts, and earls, whose power arose from the land and from a contract to protect and help their people. Absolute rule was replaced by the rights of dispersed feudal units. The one ancient *civitas*, conceived as a superstructure resting on a multitude of individuals who collectively formed the State and gave authority (so Ulpian said) to the emperor, went out of existence. The Roman notion of law, courts, judges with imperial power, and im-

MEDIEVAL GOVERNMENT

perial executives having their authority delegated by the omnicompetent emperor was shelved in favor of custom and the higher law that was enforceable against both vassal and lord indiscriminately. A new basic concept of law emerged, that of common law. And the election of a ruler, for centuries a farce in ancient Rome, now became a reality.

Again, the Church occupied a position different from anything in the Roman system, where religion was thought of as an inspirer of virtue and patriotism but never as a supreme and compelling guide. In medieval times the Church was the arbiter of rulers as well as of judges, by her supreme moral direction and her power and command in sacramental absolution. She was the teacher of lawmakers and of courts. Her own system of courts formed the model and the ideal of all other courts, and in her forum the great medieval lawyers learned legal practice and interpretation. Every matter of right, from warfare to tax, inheritance, and coronation oath, was amenable to her principles of authority and justice.

1. Great care must be taken to distinguish the following:
 - Society—the group of men in any homogeneous unit of land.
 - The State—society organized for political purposes.
 - The Church—society organized for religious purposes.
 - Government—the manager of the State at any given time.
 - The hierarchy—the manager of the Church at any given time.
2. Feudalism was the social, economic, and political system of medieval life. Its origin is traced to the barbarian *comita-*

HISTORY OF EUROPE

tus of the duke, or to the Roman law making occupation a fixed thing and affixing the *coloni* to the soil. The origin is also found, and perhaps with most truth, in the chaos that succeeded the Roman Empire in the West. The dislocation of economy resulted in widespread poverty. The ravages of marauders, no longer controlled by the imperial peace officers, struck terror into the weaker members of society. In either case strong men were asked for help by those of lesser resources. The latter, in return for protection of life and property, commended themselves to the leaders, promising services in peace and war, swearing allegiance, accepting court justice, offering a privileged position to the better men, or 'nobility.' A few solitary acts became a custom, and lord and vassal assumed toward one another a permanent relation of mutual trust, service, and loyalty. Wherever the towns died out, this feudal system took root, very early in Gaul and Britain, much later in Germany, for reasons that have been pointed out in preceding chapters. The word 'feud' means payment. The subject paid for protection, the ruler for aid, in a mutual contract for support in all the events of rural life.

The duties of lords and vassals were fixed by custom or agreement and by the directing supervision of the ever-present Church, which gave great assistance in building up a new social order. The practices of benefice and commendation have already been described. In entering feudal service or in renewing loyalty, a vassal took an oath of allegiance to his lord. Placing his folded hands between the hands of the lord, and with knees touching the soil of the lord, the vassal swore:

"By the Lord I promise to be faithful and true, to love all that thou lovest and shun all that thou shunnest, conformably to the laws of God and man; and never in will or weal, in

MEDIEVAL GOVERNMENT

word or work, to do that which thou loapest, provided thou help me as I mean to serve, and fulfill the conditions to which we agreed when I subjected myself to thee and chose thy will."

Everyone had a duty to someone else, and was *under* someone in the hierarchy of ordered life. The serfs and freemen were under the lord. He was under the earl, who was under the king or emperor. The latter was under the law, and also under the spiritual power of the pope and the bishops of the Church. And all were under God.

Vassals might always petition for redress of wrong in the feudal court. This right led to assembling at court. Out of the assemblies grew the parliaments, which arose early in the Pyrenees lands, in France, England, Italy, the Low Countries, and Germany. Vassals received the right to cast votes, or the franchise, as a gift of the lord, or sometimes by contract with the lord in return for some subsidy. By their vote they regulated small local affairs. This was the origin of town rights in newly created towns, as it was also the way in which the guilds obtained the right to manage themselves.

3. Feudalism had as its unit of life the *manor*, or estate of the lord. The word is derived from *manere*, 'to remain.' The old Roman *villa* became the medieval manor. In the process the tenants acquired a personal tie to the lord that they never had towards the landowner in Roman times. Generally speaking, the class of lords inherited its manors from the former holders of villas, obtaining in the change the new feudal rights and duties.

The manor embraced the manorhouse of the lord, the commons, the freehold, tenant fields, the lord's fields, and wasteland. Freemen and serfs had diverse rights to the land.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Tillage followed the three-field system of agriculture. When the lord summoned his serfs and freemen to court, all were obliged to come as befitting true vassals. For both lords and vassals primogeniture usually determined the right of inheritance, except in Germany. All were bound to do service in war, to pay certain taxes, and to do labor for the manor. Property was held of the lord and in perpetuity, but it was not transferable without consent of the lord. The manor, and any village that grew up within its confines, had its own church, and in the parish affairs there was a combination of feudal duties and free democratic arrangement. Law, except canon law, was chiefly custom. In trials mercy was expected of the nobility, and it was generally extended except in cases of disloyalty to the feudal oath.

4. England developed its own special feudal system even before William the Conqueror introduced the strong Norman style. Custom or royal decree established the hundreds and the larger shires, with their superior courts, judges, and sheriffs, to take cognizance of greater laws and crimes. Guilt was established in several ways: by ordeal, by trial of battle, or by sworn witnesses. Penalties were in proportion to the *Wergeld*, or agreed value set on the injury. To apprehend traitors or criminals, all male dwellers on the manor, or in the hundreds and shires, were bound to rise at the 'hue and cry.'

5. The growth of royal government has already been discussed. The thirteenth century, however, produced some remarkable kings, such as Louis IX of France. It was they who began the practice of calling the large parliaments, particularly when they were in need of funds. Thus Henry III of England sanctioned and used the Parliament of 1265, an assembly which in turn forced him to promise for the future to

MEDIEVAL GOVERNMENT

respect the rights of the barons in exchange for its grants and subsidies. In northern Germany the Hanseatic League began to develop in the same century. By 1370 it included seventy cities stretching from London to Novgorod, bound together for furtherance of their commerce and for the protection of their mutual interests.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

The Medieval Mind

THE picture of medieval government makes one curious to understand the mind that made it. A study of that mind will reveal the main lines of medieval culture, which presented so strong a contrast to its Roman predecessor. Imperial Rome, with all its venerable and rich antiquity, exhibited the failure of moribund paganism to carry on the grandest institution of ancient civilization. Medieval Europe was young but vigorous. Her cultural agencies grappled with the problem of decaying empire and the untamed barbarian, and worked out a new and productive organic life.

The medieval mind can be studied to best advantage in its products—say, in a cathedral. But if one would grasp its character, its origins must be noticed. These origins were the ideas, active or latent, in the various groups which composed medieval society—the descendants of civilized Roman provincials or of semi-civilized and barbaric tribal families. The moulding agencies were pre-eminently the dynamic monasteries and the Church, two living, self-conscious, constructive forces everywhere present, showing themselves as models and ideals to guide the individuals who formed and directed society.

The distinctive works of the medieval mind were its speech, its planning and construction in the technical arts, and its human organization. The speech issued in new lan-

THE MEDIEVAL MIND

guages, spoken and written, in music, in verse and prose, in play, ballad, and hymn. The cities, buildings, bridges, ships, roads, aqueducts and canals, vehicles, and architectural adornments present a picture of its aims and abilities. The religious orders, the fighting orders, chivalry, the Inquisition, charters, and guilds were typical products of the medieval mind;

The tone of medieval life came from its theocentric character and the sense of values dependent thereon. Life was not baffling; it was understood and lived with joyous certainty. The daring spires of the cathedrals tell that story plainly. That they were poised with an artistic touch which equaled their engineering correctness testified to the fact that they were a symbol of the Divine Power whose sacrifice they sheltered.

This last sentence could not be written of any Roman building in imperial times. The medieval motivation, the structural principles, the design and method of execution were thought out by, or latent in, the Christian medieval mind.

With all their excellence, the medievalists were not very far removed from barbarism. There was a roughness and crudity about many of their ways that indicated the hardy youth of their culture. Warfare, criminal justice, sanitation and food, the Inquisition, their very concept of death showed a scorn for comfort and a stark realism in their outlook.

There were three special marks in the activity of the medieval people that determined the type of their cultural product. They had clear standards, definite points of compari-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

son, a sense of order and fitness, taste, and a sound judgment which gave both grace and permanence to their constructions. Secondly, their vigor of mind enabled them to dream and to plan, and to realize their dreams and plans in the use of physical material as well as in social organization. They designed hospitals, universities, guilds, or a Hanseatic League as successfully as they built the university halls or the monastic cloister. The beautiful they saw as the *splendor veri*—an Augustinian phrase. Finally, devoted love was a characteristic of their souls. From this love came chivalric devotion to the ‘Fair Lady,’ and the unsurpassed admiration and service of ‘Our Lady.’ Thence came the vows to Lady Poverty; the dedications to Mary, Mother of God; respect for woman; reparation for wrongs; love of nature; absence of the corrosive evil of divorce; regard for children, for the sick, and for the suffering. In this the Middle Ages exceeded the highest ideals of old Rome. After Cornelia, Rome slowly lost its reverence for mother love and motherhood. Medieval times rebuilt that love on the foundation of love for Christ’s Mother.

1. Universalism was manifest in their idea of the brotherhood of man, of many peoples bound in one society. The Hanseatic League united cities from London to Novgorod in common maritime law, business law, commercial methods, protection, and mutual assistance. There was no greater diversity between London and Novgorod than there was between London and Rome. European unity was a reality, in human association and in a common philosophy of life. The University of Paris gathered under one rule and one purpose

THE MEDIEVAL MIND

nations as different as the Scotch and the Bohemians. The Empire was a symbol of political oneness, as was the Church of a common destiny, a common struggle, a common sharing of divine help.

2. Language gave diversity to the harmony. Latin, the universal Roman tongue, broke down into latinized dialects, and between the years 500 and 1000 the Romance languages replaced the Latin in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal. Meanwhile the English, Teutonic, Balkan, and Slavic speech developed, with considerable dependence on the ancient Latin. The ballads, romances, and folksongs, born of chivalry and the struggles of the rising peoples, stabilized and enriched the native tongues.

3. Architecture showed a similar unity in diversity. Old Roman basilicas were succeeded by the Norman, a compound of solidity and elevation. The light and lofty Gothic combined the groined ceiling, pointed window, multiple arch, and flying buttress. Its progress may be traced from northern Italy through France, Germany, Poland, and the Low Countries to England and Spain. In a spirit of universalism the Gothic characterized the cathedrals as well as the wayside shrines, gateways, markets, townhalls, monasteries, and university edifices.

4. St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) fashioned a distinguished religious order on the ideal of Lady Poverty. St. Dominic (1170-1221) established the Order of Preachers to instruct and guard from error. St. Bernard († 1154) directed the Cistercians. St. Bruno († 1110) founded the other-worldly Carthusians. To fight the Christian battles, Teutonic Knights and Knights of the Temple formed half-monastic, half-feudal or-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ders. Other orders arose for the care of hospitals, public services, and charities, and for the duties of the cathedral chapter.

5. The Inquisition began in 1229 as a system of ecclesiastical tribunals for the detection and prosecution of heresy. Heresy according to church law merited denial of absolution. But to the State it was disorder of a serious nature, threatening the unity of the commonwealth. Churchmen investigated the fact. The secular arm dealt out the penalty.

6. Care of the common welfare was considered a universal obligation. The 'hue and cry' pursued criminals. All attended court. Generosity to the afflicted was a duty, not a work of special magnanimity. Men and women banded together for the care of public needs. Personal penance for failures in respect to the public right, as well as in private conduct, often took the place of the far-reaching arm of the law. Men appealed to duty rather than to fear of punishment. This sense of public morality, of care for public welfare, has been called solidarism.

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CHAPTER XXIX

Medieval Town Life

THE rise of towns and the development of town life formed an important factor in medieval civilization. Roman towns tended to disappear in the dissolution of the Roman Empire, but it was the Mohammedan conquest that sealed their fate through the Islamic control of the Mediterranean. Cities like Marseilles, a solitude after 760, were abandoned on the stopping of sea trade. Merovingian life soon lost the former Gallic urban character and changed to a rural economy. Rulers preferred their chateaux to the turbulent towns. Governments had no capitals. Feudal lords exercised their jurisdiction only in their personal territories, and there was no need for seats of wide administration. Only the bishops continued living in towns as the centers of dioceses, and soon a town meant merely an ecclesiastical population with the accompanying school body. The tendency of feudalism was to decrease the importance of towns, particularly in the absence of a surplus economy, when production was measured by local consumption.

England saw her cities and towns suffer a similar fate. Not so Germany, which kept alive its Roman towns until feudalism arose there in the disturbance of the eleventh century—much later, it seems, than in France.

The decentralization of feudalism finally gave way to the unity of royal government, and then many people returned

HISTORY OF EUROPE

to the towns or founded new towns. The movement of armies during the crusades was also a stimulus for the building of towns, in England and elsewhere in Europe. With their resurrection came a new conflict, that of town and gown, of rising burghers against the older group allied with the bishop and the university. This conflict gave a positive impulse to the future development of university organization.

The rebirth of towns explains several interesting historical facts. Those whose names ended in *chester* or *cester* grew out of Roman fortified spots. The addition *field* or *feld* meant a town built round a Teutonic war camp. *Ham* or *heim* signified a town grown up round the palace of a noble, while *berg* or *hill* indicated a town built near a monastery or the home of a lesser baron. Names ending in *burg* were markets at crossroads, and Haymarket has the same sense. The ending *haven* signified a refuge for ships or travelers. Towns built as colonies and planted by territorial lords at strategic points got their names from local factors, such as Lübeck and Bremen.

After the Dark Ages the return of law and order enabled industry and commerce to operate, and families left the countryside to make their living in towns. This rise of towns brought about a tremendous change in economic life, for now a surplus economy returned. Money replaced barter. Rulers could levy taxes and accumulate a treasury with which to pay for a professional army and a professional administrative organization. A new set of courts had to be devised to meet this change. Often enough a group of towns formed a league, either for protection against robber barons

MEDIEVAL TOWN LIFE

or for the advancement of their mutual interests. Such was the Hanseatic League in the North.

The new class of townsmen produced new moral problems for the Church. Profit and usury are typical cases. The codes of guilds, designed to guard producers, labor, and consumers, were worked out along moral lines.

New towns faced the issue created by the fact that they lay within some feudal domain. Their 'rights' had thus to be begged, or purchased for a price. The ensuing bargain was inscribed in a *charter*, a document that afterward served as the basis of appeal in controversy with the local feudal power. The charter, or contract, had received special honor in Roman times, and one of the greatest Roman contributions to civilization was respect for the word of another as pledged or as written in a formal instrument. In medieval times the Christian ideal enforced and heightened this respect, and the breach of a pledge or plighted word, whether to lord, peer, or vassal, was considered a serious wrong. Consequently charters of liberties constituted a permanent title of right on which townsmen could found their institutions.¹

The earliest charter right was the privilege of a market court. This 'liberty' expanded into the general court power and the right to hold any market (though not a fair)—a right previously reserved to the king. Afterward came freedom from external tax, then the power to tax themselves, to elect their own officials, to make laws, to subgrant charters to guilds. Towns thus enjoyed a great independence; and in a Europe so broken up, the religious bond was the only strong unifying influence until the day of the national mon-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

archs. This independence of towns from the restrictions of feudalism made the overthrow of the latter system certain when once the towns grew to sufficient size and wealth. Their resurrection is historically almost as significant as was the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

1. Towns began to grow as soon as communication with other places became useful and safe. Factors contributing to this situation were improved stability in government, the rise of great monasteries and schools, the crusades, the change from feudal to royal concepts of kingship—as in the case of Hugh Capet—and the consequent unification of governmental control over larger territories which were formerly marked by many local sovereignties.
2. Soon after Henry IV dismembered Saxony in 1180, the Hanseatic League was begun. Hamburg and Lübeck agreed to act jointly against piracy and for mutual protection. From this pact grew the organization which finally embraced all the great cities of northern Europe. Lübeck, the originator of the plan, had been founded about 1100 by Adolph Holstein, who invited settlers from the West to form a colony on a small river island of the Trove as a strategic point of defense.
3. Guilds were organized human activity of widely varied purpose and function. Craft guilds embraced craftsmen and regulated their training and workmanship, trading, prices, shops, markets, materials, and dealings with non-guild craftsmen. They also protected the membership in respect to labor conditions, competition, financial trouble, health, death, spiritual welfare, and enjoyment. The guild merchant did the same for merchants. Hospital guilds endowed, supported, staffed, served, and regulated hospitals. They included broth-

MEDIEVAL TOWN LIFE

erhoods and sisterhoods of charity, doctors, pharmacists, and janitors. Guilds of mercy loaned to the needy. There were professional guilds for the educated vocations, as there were also social, religious, actor, musician, and writer guilds.

Guilds were founded on Christian principles, on motives of justice and charity, on parish needs, on the idea of the *just price*. They were democratic in government. In admission and function they were exclusive and specialized. Their chartered freedom came by grant of a noble, a king, or a town. They kept the standards of workmanship high, measures and weights honest, quality pure. They inspired excellence by competition and by their Christian idealism, and medieval craftsmanship was notably careful and artistic. Until the day of commercial capitalism they were the strongest bond of social life. After that day they weakened and perished.

4. Towns and guilds supported traveling players and their minstrelsy, their miracle and morality plays. Townsmen built magnificent chantries for Masses for the dead. Chantry schools grew up beside the chantries. Frequent holidays drew sporting, merrymaking crowds to the commons. The town-hall housed public meetings. Towns held fairs with royal permission, very profitably and sociably—some of them, such as the Nuremberg Fair, continuing to this day. With their new wealth the towns erected beautiful buildings and paid goodly taxes to the royal treasury. They furnished military or naval help in time of need, and as late as the Armada battle of 1588 it was the ships sent by the towns that composed the English navy. The self-government of the towns, and the wealth arising from their crafts and trade, built up in medieval society populous and powerful political centers whose tendency was to throw off the restrictions of feudalism. They

HISTORY OF EUROPE

were an important step in the process of creating the national states.

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CHAPTER XXX

The Rise of the Universities

THE vital unity of medieval life produced a typical institution of higher learning, the university. The name derives from the Latin *universitas* (community, or corporation), and the universities enjoyed all the rights of a corporation-at-law with an independence that was unique. The title came to signify a place where one could study all knowledge, a purpose which has been the ambition of university organization since the Middle Ages. Of course not all universities were able to realize that exalted ideal. In practice each university relied for its reputation on some particularly excellent faculty. The greater bodies, such as that of Paris, strove for superior training in all subjects of learning, and from this broad purpose there arose the name of *studium generale*.

The university was a product of an age that was universal. Schools could draw students and professors from a united Europe, where a common learned language and a common philosophy of life went hand in hand with a common respect for learned men and a continent-wide recognition of academic degrees. This homogeneous society exchanged its professors as readily as it accepted students transferring from one seat of learning to another. In spite of the rivalries between institutions and groups of students within institutions, there was a uniform system of teaching in vogue from Poland and Hungary to the British Isles,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

from Sicily and Portugal to the schools of the Scandinavian peninsula.

Before the religious revolt there were thirty-three pontifical universities and forty-eight founded by towns, nobles, or kings. In that day no corporation could exist without legal right, and thus it was necessary for the universities—which grew up as guilds of master teachers—to obtain their charters of rights. The charter ratified the statutes of the university, confirmed its degrees, empowered it to govern itself, and protected it against exterior interference. The charters were specifically granted to gatherings of teachers and followers who conducted courses of lectures. The students had already completed early training in monastic, cathedral, or parish schools. From these small beginnings the universities grew into the most majestic guilds of medieval times.

The idea of a *studium generale* developed slowly through experimental periods until it finally embraced the four major divisions of arts, law, medicine, and theology. The arts were the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and the *quadrivium* of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. These were the famous seven liberal arts, the basis of the course in the University of Paris which was accepted as the model curriculum.

Support for the material needs of these institutions came first from the fees that students paid to their masters. In time certain nobles and other wealthy men built residence and lecture halls, endowed chairs, and provided scholarships for needy scholars. This made it possible for the poorest youths to rise to eminence—a basic democratic trait that was com-

THE RISE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

mon to medieval education and ecclesiastical life. Its counterpart was the sense of a stewardship of wealth that prompted royalty and successful men to make generous gifts to the halls of learning.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries showed a marked enthusiasm for the formation of universities. This spirit owed much to the influence of the crusades, which brought contact with strange customs, increased wealth, and produced a greater knowledge of other lands and an appreciation of Mohammedan and Byzantine culture. No little impetus came from a new attention to the schools and educators of Greece and Rome, though there were no true universities anywhere before the Middle Ages.

i. At Bologna the renowned Irnerius lectured on Roman law, and there too Gratian, a Benedictine, published his *Decretals*. This separate treatment of the two laws, civil and canon, would have important results in later France and Germany. From the outset large numbers of students were attracted, and the school began to grow in wealth and to expand its curriculum. The students were young men in their twenties. They soon began to suffer mistreatment from the merchants and townspeople, and the two student groups, the Cismontaines and the Ultramontaines, united to boycott the town until in 1180 they got their charter. They then made rules for degrees, salaries, and tuition fees. Their guild was a union of professors and students, the pupils being the *rectores scholarum*, and the teachers the *rectores scholarium*. A few groups, disgruntled at their fellow professors and students, broke away and formed new schools at Vicenza and Padua. Bologna came to be as highly reputed for its law as

HISTORY OF EUROPE

was Salerno for medicine. Among its many famous students was Pope Innocent III.

2. At Paris Charlemagne had founded a palatine school—that is, one under his special protection and enjoying particular royal power and favor, a part of his court or palace organization. Some decades later this school received the name of St. Victor and became a notable center of studies in the eleventh century. Two other contemporary Parisian schools were St. Genevieve and Notre Dame, and the three formed a nucleus for the future university. Notre Dame became famous under its rector William of Champeaux. In 1150 it was made a *studium generale*, and twenty years later it obtained the charter of a university. The statutes, drawn up by Innocent III, were published by the rector, Robert de Corson, in 1215. At Bologna it was the students who disbursed salaries and determined courses. In Paris the corporation of masters was the governing body. The rectors were chosen from the professors of the arts course. Rectors were elected by the proctors, who in turn were directly elected by the 'nations': the Normans, the French (and Poles), the Picards, and the English (and Germans). Franciscans and Dominicans became the great teachers at Paris after 1217, especially the Dominicans, whose special function was the preaching and teaching of human and divine truth. The orders built monasteries, and colleges for boarding students near the university.

3. Oxford traced its origin to a pious widow who in 750 founded a school for poor boys. Alfred the Great was said to have befriended the school. In 1167 a group of Parisian students migrated with a famous professor to the site of Oxford, where they obtained a charter and drew up statutes on the model of Paris. This professor was Robert Pullein, the author

THE RISE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

of a popular study of the Scriptures called *The Sentences*. In his school the Australes (the Irish and Welsh) and the Boreales (the English and Scotch) formed two distinct classes, a division that partially explained the schism which led to the foundation of Cambridge a century later. The religious orders came to Oxford after 1221, bringing their customary blessings of new colleges for the poorer students and of much-needed discipline in academic life. Allied to these religious teachers was the remarkable rector, Robert Grosseteste of the Franciscan School, who died as Bishop of Lincoln in 1248. Another famous professor was Duns Scotus, who taught there for ten years after 1294 until he went to Paris for the doctorate that he earned in 1307.

4. In these universities six years of study culminated in the baccalaureate of arts and the right to proceed to the study of law, medicine, or theology. The graduate of each division had to pass a comprehensive oral examination and to defend a thesis. He was free to go from one lecturer to another as he wished, or to transfer at will to another university with full credit for the years spent in former study. Traveling students were not considered unusual or undesirable, for their change in residence generally denoted a search for particularly desirable professors. The number of students relatively exceeded the enrollments of the present day. Their influence, that of men trained in the university, had a pronounced effect on the culture of the time. "They formed a core of accurate and clear-cut thinking which made definite intellectual principles a common possession."

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CHAPTER XXXI

St. Thomas Aquinas

ST. AUGUSTINE combined the Roman and the Christian spirit in his design for civilization. He stood at the end of the Roman and the beginning of the medieval age. A man of similar eminence is St. Thomas Aquinas, who was at once both the epitome of medieval culture and the guide to much future history. That theocentric era, highly unified and intent on understanding the world, produced in Aquinas one of the grand figures of all time.

Thomas lived in the active world of the thirteenth century, and he personified the ideal of his day. As a teacher and writer his influence on his contemporaries was notable. His hymns expressed the exalted spirit of the medievalist. His unrivaled *Summa Theologica* was both a monument and an inspiration. In it he grasped and emphasized the crucial fact that the human intellect is made to understand the world about us. That simple yet profound conviction led on his successors to investigate all manner of problems and to portray nature through every medium of expression. Philosopher, poet, attractive scholar and lecturer, consultor of popes and of royalty, his life was a synthesis of the best in that remarkable epoch.

The unity and stability of life in the Middle Ages, with their absence of contradictory morals and opposing theories of statecraft, led men naturally to probe the universe as a single harmonious unit. In this study they developed the *phi-*

HISTORY OF EUROPE

losophia perennis—Scholastic philosophy. They found an all-embracing explanation for the problems of the universe. They stated it so well that the entire institutional life of their day was organized according to its principles. Hence it was that a university became a true union of all divergent knowledge, according to the central theme of a theistic metaphysic. Political theory was analyzed and fitted to the same theme. Economics, social welfare, science, and literary constructions followed the plan. A meaning was seen in everything, from the life of the smallest plant to the operations of the Empire. This satisfying understanding of life enabled men to give their fullest efforts to the building of civilization, without the vexations of doubt and the opposition of stubborn and cynical adversaries. Education rested on changeless truths.

i. Thomas was born at Aquino in 1225, of wealthy and noble parents. His uncle, abbot of Monte Cassino, in 1230 accepted him into the monastery school for primary training. At the age of ten he began to study in the University of Naples. There he met the Dominicans, and in 1243 he joined that order. The general of the order took him to Cologne in the next year to begin his course under Albertus Magnus. He won his degree of master at Cologne in 1248, was ordained priest, and commenced to teach and to preach. Five years later he went to Paris, where he became a doctor of theology and received a chair in that science. It was during his first year in Paris that he wrote his *Summa contra Gentiles*. After ten years he was summoned to Rome and other Italian centers for academic and diplomatic work. Meanwhile he refused the archbishopric of Naples, and in 1264 wrote the office and Mass for the Feast of Corpus Christi. Back in Paris,

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

he continued his lectures and authorship until 1273, when he gave up further composition on the plea that his books fell so far short of perfection. He died in 1274 while on the way to the Council of Lyons. He was a man of large physique, of profound mind, and of perennial good nature.

2. Scholastic philosophy is the philosophy of the schoolmen, with its typical method of logical argument and its typical aim of centering and harmonizing the knowledge of all things with regard to their ultimate causes. Greek philosophy, alive in the East until the fall of Constantinople, was neglected in the West from 500 to 1000. The practical pressure and stress of life prevented men from giving much time to study. Meanwhile in Spain Greek thought was further developed in Jewish and Moorish cultural centers, where Maimonides and Averroes interpreted the books of Aristotle. These men inherited the works of the master, including his physical treatises and his metaphysics, which were not then known in Gaul, through the Arabian tradition of ancient learning. They labored earnestly to show the harmony between science and religion. Through them interest in the great Greek philosopher came to the schoolmen of France, and their task of establishing the compatibility of reason and faith became the inspiring motive of Scholastic philosophy and theology. In France the originals were translated, particularly by William of Moerbeke, and with this aid the schoolmen went on to build their system of thought.

Abelard in his *Sic et Non* inaugurated the Scholastic method of discussing both sides of a question, though he stopped short of the solutions of many vexing problems. The line of distinguished Scholastic thinkers and teachers included Anselm, William of Champeaux, Alexander of Hales,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, and especially Thomas Aquinas. Thomas wrote to show the harmony of all truth—that reason and faith cannot be mutually opposed, that religion and true philosophy agree. In his hands Scholasticism was the search for truth from whatever source, and the effort to organize it and to discover its unity. As years went on, this philosophy obtained a hold on the European mind, and in spite of the jibe of Bacon it is still the basis of Western thought.

3. The *Summa Theologica* discusses theological questions briefly, seriously, and in an order that is clear and at the same time masterly. Begun in 1265, it was left unfinished at the death of Thomas in 1274. The prologue reads:

“Since the teacher of Catholic truth ought not only instruct the learned but also fulfill the task of training the beginners—according to that thought of the Apostle: ‘As unto little ones in Christ I gave you milk to drink, not meat’—; so the object of our effort in this work is to explain the religion of Christ in a way that will enlighten beginners.

“For we have found novices in this material much impeded by their reading of different authors. This is due in part to a multiplication of useless questions, explanations and arguments. Then too the elements basic to this knowledge are not always treated in logical order, but are rather taken up when the matter of the book demands it, or else await some particular discussion before they are treated. Lastly the frequent repetition of the same things begets weariness and confusion in the minds of the learners.

“These and similar mistakes we shall endeavor to avoid. With confidence in the divine assistance we now attempt to unfold the sacred doctrine, with as much brevity and clearness as the subject permits.”

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

The purpose of the work is to teach "what knowledge man has of God." This is done in three parts. The first treats of God in Himself and as the Creator and Preserver of all creatures. The second discusses the way in which man as a rational creature tends toward God. This part has two sections, the *Prima Secundae* dealing with human acts in general, and the *Secunda Secundae* taking up those acts in detail. The third part studies Christ as the way to God.

By universal agreement this is one of the greatest books ever written. In the field of knowledge it accomplished what the *De Civitate Dei* did in the realm of action. They complemented each other in stirring the energies of medieval leaders and in forming their civilization.

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B-H-S, I, 332-337	W, I, 598-599

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CHAPTER XXXII

Avignon and the Great Schism

T

HE thirteenth century saw civilization stabilized on a level of high achievement. Intense energy, clear principles, and cultural unity enabled men to produce remarkable monuments of art and organization. And yet there is no record that they were conscious of their superiority. Nor should they have felt such pride, for history knows no levels that have not been or may not be surpassed.

Individuals make history, and unmake it. The very success of medieval efforts placed the leaders in a position of new power, particularly of kingly power. With the slow abandonment of feudal rule, a new national consciousness began to appear. Wealth hitherto unimagined and unsought enabled untitled burghers and professional men to exert a strong influence on public affairs.

The exercise of these new powers upset the even trend of medieval life, and the system of Europe began to remake itself. Central in that system had been the papacy, with its moral ascendancy, its political guidance, and its social control. The spiritual eminence of the popes would not be challenged for several centuries, but their place in the government of peoples was bound to lessen as the national states arose. In the process they need not have lost their pre-eminent prestige had not a combination of financial rivalry and royal ambition forced them to limit their non-ecclesiastical interests to the Italian peninsula.

AVIGNON AND THE GREAT SCHISM

The rise of the secular State conflicted directly with religion. Proper government is one thing, search for absolute and supreme power is another. The absolutist was a law unto himself, aside from and beyond the higher law. In his wake he often left benefits to his people—benefits of wealth, of confidence, of political strength. His personal example was usually execrable.

On the other side of the picture it should be noted that the Church had not sought its medieval position. Political and social power came to it freely in the emergence of Europe from the Dark Ages. Such unusual rights as the review of imperial elections, the wide feudal holdings, and the legal disposition of island possessions were accorded the papacy in the natural growth of the new civilization. Some writers based these powers on mistaken documents, such as the long-accepted "Donation of Constantine." With the passing of years, however, the powers of the papacy in political matters were confirmed by the universal consent and approval of European peoples.

The events of Avignon and the succeeding Great Schism ended these customary rights of the popes as supreme judges in all medieval temporal concerns. In the next two centuries their efforts turned mostly in the direction of the arts, leaving to the nations their own governmental problems and marking off a sharp cleavage between Church and State. Before the fourteenth century, statehood, statecraft, and national interests counted for little. After the quarrel of Philip the Fair with Boniface VIII, for better or worse the national State was a reality. That pontiff bore the brunt of an unequal bat-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

tle, of ideals against political force. The papacy had enabled the princes to assemble their new power, and this was turned to the great disadvantage of Rome, of the Roman unity of Europe, and of Roman inspiration of peoples in the ages to come.

It is as much a mistake to blame Boniface VIII as it is to condemn the new spirit of nationality. The pontiff spoke the traditional language of Gregory VII and Innocent III when he said that, although there are two 'swords'—two perfect societies, the Church and the State, each with its independent origin and right—yet his duty to face moral issues and to be ready to pronounce his *Non licet* would never change. "The Church sought not to dominate but to serve." The imperious Philip wished no service that would hamper him in his domestic relations, in his appointment of bishops, and in his treatment of the Templars. And the powerful Philip had his way. Caesar came back into history.

1. Avignon became a papal fief during the Albigensian Crusade. It remained the land of the popes until the French Revolution. A fair county on the Lower Rhone, wealthy, with noble castles and a happy people, for seventy years (1308-1377) it was the home of the popes..
2. Boniface VIII had died in 1303 as a result of personal violence inflicted by Nogaret and the partisans of Philip IV. French Legists, led by Pierre Dubois, were plotting the capture of the Papal States and the papacy. The machinations of the French king, the influence of the French cardinals, the turmoil of life in Rome, and the timidity of Clement V moved that pope to take up residence in papal Avignon—

AVIGNON AND THE GREAT SCHISM

still, of course, remaining the bishop of Rome. At Avignon the papacy enjoyed peace, wealth, and the prestige of several exceptional popes of the type of John XXII; but it certainly came under the sway of the propaganda and force emanating from the French monarchy. Several unfortunate events followed upon this new arrangement.

The Templars, under their grand master Jacques de Molay, were cruelly suppressed by the now-supreme Philip the Fair (1285-1314). In England the Peter's pence was abolished, as were also papal provisions of non-Englishmen to English bishoprics; and *praemunire*—an appeal of a case to a non-English court—was made a crime. In Germany the Diet of Ludwig of Bavaria proclaimed in 1327 that “imperial power comes from God alone (the divine right of kings) and needs no papal confirmation.” The Franciscan Spirituals, a radical group protected by Ludwig, rebelled against John XXII, who had approved the Conventional rule in the order. This Spiritual party was abetted by William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua, two leading exponents of the anti-papal spirit. The black death (1346-1348) took off many eminent men and caused discontent and unrest in England. Papal loans to the French in their wars with England were used by anti-French propagandists as a war cry against Avignon. Convinced that Avignon was hurting the papacy, Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome in 1377, only to see a greater evil strike the Church.

3.. The Avignon captivity was followed within a year by the Great Schism. Properly this move was no general schism, or withdrawal of obedience from the papacy. The trouble was rather a defection of a few cardinals. The subsequent division of Europe into three obediences was due to the inability of some of the peoples to discover who was the lawful pope.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Gregory XI died within a year of his return to Rome. The cardinals in conclave elected Urban VI. A cabal of French cardinals under royal inspiration went to France and held a new election, putting up a French puppet pope who took the name of Clement VII. At his death in 1394 another called Benedict XIII followed him. A Spanish faction in 1409 elected one Alexander V, and in 1410 a John XXIII.

Meanwhile the Roman line continued unbroken. Gregory XI was succeeded in turn by Urban VI, Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII.

The thirty years (1378-1418) of schism—three parts of Europe followed three obediences, though much more than half recognized the Roman incumbent—dismayed Europe. Nations became violently hostile over the issue, and it had much to do with the rise of the modern State and the ending of that common union which was the ‘Christian Republic of Europe.’ There was one true pope, as everybody knew, but many did not know who he was. There was no attack on the Church nor on the papacy. The confused situation, however, undoubtedly hurried on the decline of prestige in the temporal position of the popes.

4. Men struggled mightily to end the schism. John Gerson, rector of the University of Paris, proposed the calling of a general council which should declare itself superior to the popes, and should depose all three claimants and elect another. The emperor favored the same view—sometimes called the ‘conciliar movement’—and convened a large but uncanonical meeting in 1413 at Constance in Switzerland. During an interlude this gathering condemned John Huss to be burned at the stake. The Roman Gregory XII, for the sake of peace and the good of the Church, now gave his formal approval

AVIGNON AND THE GREAT SCHISM

to this meeting as a general council and tendered his resignation to the cardinals there assembled. The council deposed John XXIII and the French appointee, Benedict XIII. With order restored, the council then proceeded to elect Martin V in 1417. After giving some attention to the heresies of Wyclif of England and Huss of Bohemia, the council completed its work by accepting the suppliant Greek Church into reunion with Rome.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

The Hundred Years' War

THE century from approximately 1350 to 1450 marks a constant state of war between English and French royalty. The glorious victories of Sluys, Crécy, and Agincourt went to the English. The spoils were gathered by the French. Out of the conflicts came important changes in European politics, and for that reason this extended military strife deserves special study.

The chief results of the war were seen in the crystallization of the territories and governments of England and France. A deeper change took place in the slow decay of feudalism and in the substitution of a money for a land economy. By 1450 kings could hire trained armies and rally a populace against rebellious nobles. In this process the European scene of cultural unity and political multiplicity was made over into a cultural diversity and, in the West, into four political entities, which would soon come to be national States. Only in Germany and the East did the Empire carry on the tradition of manifold units of government held together in one imperial union. There is good ground for the view that the use of gunpowder and the Great Western Schism are the roots of modern States.

The origin of the Hundred Years' War—which is really an arbitrary term for eleven particular decades of what was a perennial attitude of hostility after the Norman Conquest—lay in the Angevin inheritances of the English kings.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Henry II had brought to his throne the feudal allegiance of large and important French counties. As the count of Paris became the king of France and gradually broadened his dominions, he came in time to attack the holdings of England within the boundaries of ancient Gaul. Upon the elevation of Philip VI (1328-1350), the lawyers invented the Salic law principle of male inheritance to the kingdom. Thereupon young Edward III of England did homage for his French fiefs to Philip VI. This Philip soon embarked on a reckless warfare to gain for his family the principalities of Guienne, Brittany, Flanders, and Burgundy. In the sequel he plunged France into a century of defeat, invasion, misery, and enormous taxation. The course of war was finally reversed by the marvelous success of St. Joan of Arc and the subsequent expulsion of England from all French territory except the town of Calais.

i. Edward III (1327-1377) opened the struggle by gaining the sovereignty of Flanders through a commercial and political alliance. Thence he accepted the challenge of Philip and invaded Normandy. At Crécy (1346) he decimated the French army. Calais was taken, and the Black Prince—Edward, the heir apparent—was put in charge of all further campaigning. At Poitiers he captured the new French king, John the Good. The kingless people now suffered the black death and the Jacquerie rebellion of 1358, and finally submitted to the Peace of Calais, which gave away all title to Brittany and to the old Angevin territories.

In England, meanwhile, the House of Commons, composed of representatives of the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie, or townsmen, had arisen to form a regular part of Parliament.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

The need of Edward III for warfare subsidies forced him to accept the formal enactment that no direct tax could be levied without the consent of Parliament. That body went on to adopt the plan of making all money grants for specific purposes and of exacting audits of all royal expenditures. At the turn of the century this rising Parliament compelled the king to sign bills provided with penalties and means of enforcement against crown officers. The lords and the clergy voted separately, as did the Commons. After 1344 the lower clergy withdrew from Commons and in 'convocation' voted subsidies jointly with the upper clergy. This parliamentary development ensured sound representative government for the country.

Richard II (1377-1399) bravely faced the Great Revolt of the peasants in 1381. The movement began in rural troubles, but it was soon joined by the artisan population of the towns. The latter complained bitterly of the evils incident to the decay of the guild system and to the new capitalistic organization of the major industries. Richard II promised reform and induced his Parliament to attack the problem. In 1399 he overstepped his popularity on another issue, the seizure of the Lancastrian estates left by John of Gaunt. For that act he was deposed. The Plantagenet line died with Richard. In its place the Lancastrian Henry IV, son of John of Gaunt, was crowned by Parliament.

2. In France Charles V (1364-1380), the Wise, rallied the French people to his side and started the rebuilding of the weakened monarchy. His famous soldier, Bertrand du Guesclin, fought his battles with a reformed army composed of cavalry, infantry, and (for the first time in history) artillery. The king submerged the Estates and took over all the ma-

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

achinery of government. He arranged several marriages that allied Flanders and the rising province of Burgundy to his house.

3. Succeeding French kings found their nation rent by civil wars and princely jealousies, though when Henry V of England invaded Normandy in 1415 a momentary union brought the nobles together. Unfortunately, they charged to their slaughter in the battle of Agincourt. Soon afterward the murder of John of Burgundy led to the deplorable alliance of that province with the English, and France seemed doomed.

At this point the amazing child, Joan of Arc (1411-1431), began to receive her visions and inspirations from St. Michael: "You must go into France. . . . Go, raise the siege which is being made before the city of Orleans." Early in 1429 she began her campaign. As she set out for Orleans she proclaimed to the English her divine commission to "drive them out of the whole kingdom of France." In victory she brought the young Charles VII to Rheims, and there he was crowned. She was captured, and was burned at the stake by the English as a heretic. Nevertheless France was saved. The English were quickly routed from all but Calais, and Joan became the patron of France.

4. Artillery meant the end of feudal military castles as strongholds. The chateaux came to be simply mansions rather than fortresses. The coat of mail gave way before the arquebus. Feudal political power declined, for the serfs could now buy, or be given, their freedom, in the economic revolution that substituted money for services. Lands began to be leased for a fixed rent, or *firma*. Royal courts protected these newly titled holdings. The domains of the nobles and their feudal might shrank to insignificance. Feudal dues still had to be

HISTORY OF EUROPE

paid, but royalty definitely took the place of the old feudal right in the medieval political system. In this change the French king ultimately acquired absolute power. And in England, after the Wars of the Roses that followed the Hundred Years' War, the throne became financially independent of Parliament.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

The Renaissance

THE term 'rebirth' was once used for the brief period from 1450 to 1550, during which it was thought that Europe emerged from the Dark Ages into the light of the 'new learning.' This epoch was regarded as the dawn of the Reformation. More earnest historical study has given rise to a very different handling of the entire subject. The Renaissance is now looked upon as the time of change from the high Middle Ages to the arrival of Humanism. The years covered by this movement fall somewhere between the death of Innocent III in 1226 and the surrender of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. Though it continued after the latter date, its spirit became subservient to the new force of Humanism.

The crusades had given a striking impetus to the material development of Europe. New knowledge and new opportunities of trade brought a notable increase of wealth. University study and the constructive spirit of the thirteenth century enlarged the vision of inventive genius. The harmonious unity of the peoples provided an easy exchange of artists and of ideas, and the universal organization of the Church formed a framework within which great institutions could develop. As feudalism was replaced by the more centralized royal control, the ensuing peace enabled men to pursue the arts of peace.

'Centuries of effort and of struggle with the hardships of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

life had cooperated with the Christian ideal to give the Middle Ages a character of social unity. Now, in the times that followed, men began to seek their personal interests, and a striking quality of the typical Renaissance man is individualism. Individual fame, wealth, pleasure, and power slowly came to supplant the former ideal of the commonweal. Social thought yielded to personal ambition. This striving for eminence spurred on the powers of man to many notable achievements, some of them the greatest of all time.

The story is usually begun with Francis of Assisi. He loved God and all the works of God. His life was that of the happy singer, of a *jongleur de Dieu*, chanting the beauties of the divine work in such poems as his "Hymn to the Sun." With Francis were many similar singers, singing songs that a secular world would later neglect because it could no longer understand them. When form began to displace content in artistic models, the age was far spent and the way lay open to Humanism.

i. Dante Alighieri (1264-1321) was a genius born, not made, yet shaped by the world in which he moved. Beneath his writing is the frame of Scholastic philosophy. His vision unified all life and pictured it in glowing colors through his mighty imagination, conceptual power, and word power. His *Divine Comedy* is both world literature and the model for Italian literary style.

Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374) lived mostly at Avignon. He traveled Europe to find, to buy, or to beg manuscripts of classical literature. His Latin style is polished, his Italian beautiful, whether in essay or sonnet.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) wrote stories of beauty,

THE RENAISSANCE

love, and villainy. He is earthy, smooth, sometimes indelicate, a pagan in material-mindedness.

Marsilius of Padua (1270-1342) wrote the *Defensor Pacis* to oust the popes from their medieval political position. With John of Jandun and William of Ockham he did much to build up the anti-papal party in the court of Ludwig of Bavaria, where he sought refuge in 1326. His thought, apparently based on democratic principles, is actually absolutist.

2. Medieval philosophy after Duns Scotus († 1308) degenerated into barren subtleties. The creative epoch was replaced by the critical; the search for knowledge was effectively impeded by exaggerated strife over words such as characterized the Nominalists and Terminists. Universities multiplied, but they became ever more formal in teaching and in academic organization. Their standards were lowered when princes demanded favors and privileges. They became debating grounds, particularly in Paris in the fourteenth century, where rectors and professors abandoned their educative function to enter the quarrels of the Spirituals and the Imperialists. The French Legists thrived in this environment, reviving the use of the absolutist Roman law.

3. Towns grew in number and wealth, particularly in Italy. Themselves a new creation in a feudal age, many could not maintain their independence and came under the control of the dukes as parts of such new duchies as Ferrara and Florence. The dukes lived in regal splendor and made a vogue of patronizing and supporting artists and scholars. They gathered libraries and hired painters to decorate their palaces and to immortalize their persons in portraiture.

The inland Italian towns, and those of Flanders, were engaged in the great woolen industry. Their merchant guilds

HISTORY OF EUROPE

were powerful companies, with branches throughout most of Europe and the Orient. Trade brought banking and international exchange. Augsburg, Bruges, Florence, Venice, and Barcelona were outstanding. Florence had eighty banking houses before 1450. Italy developed accounting methods, loans, insurance, joint-stock companies, credit, exchange, and foreign and domestic drafts. The emphatic writing of Italians lent to their local quarrels an interest out of all proportion to their magnitude, and tended to vilify in later history such families as the Borgias. Undoubtedly the kingless peninsula lacked the dominating control of unitary states. Nevertheless it enjoyed sufficient peace and energy to lead the world in intellectual and artistic life.

4. Printing was developed in Rhenish Germany, where Johann Gansfleisch (Gutenberg) invented about 1439 a metal mold for casting type. This invention ranks with the greatest in history. Quickly the Low Countries, northern Italy, France, and Spain imitated the Rhineland, and thousands of beautifully printed books flowed from the presses. The most common book among the incunabula—printings before 1500—was the Bible. The Bible was early translated into the vernacular languages, and in the times before the religious revolt it appeared in 626 printed editions; 84 in Hebrew and Greek, 343 in Latin, one in polyglot ancient tongues, 198 in German, Slavonic, Italian, French, Flemish, Spanish, and Bohemian.

5. Art flowered in those days in matchless profusion and attained a high standard of excellence. The Italian genius for color and harmony took the leadership. Giotto founded the Florentine school, whose nature study, portraits, and knowledge of form introduced new styles and themes. Sienna and Perugia aided Florence in beginning an authentic Christian

THE RENAISSANCE

painting in western Europe. In time the beauties of nature occupied many artists, but most of the masterpieces drew their inspiration from religion. The liturgy of the Church was the root of these efforts; and music, sculpture, mosaic work, and the classic paintings reflected the meaning of divine worship. Raphael, Da Vinci, and Michelangelo were preceded by hundreds of remarkable workers in color, stone, song, and decorative materials. The story is carried further in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER XXXV

Humanism, 1450-1550

THE latter days of the Renaissance threw great stress on the secular side of things, and the subsequent tendencies in European life go under the name of Humanism. There is a close connection between this latter era and the individualism of the Renaissance, in that Humanism emphasized the life of man in this world. As the cult of the individual advanced after the time of Dante, men became preoccupied with the new environment that was rising about them. The center of life had shifted from the manor to the town. Townsmen supplanted the nobility and the clergy as the dominating personalities in everyday living. Society ceased to be static when so many opportunities opened toward personal advancement. The search for secular power, wealth, honor, pleasure, knowledge, and experience, so earnestly pursued in the Renaissance, now led to a further step, the effort to copy antiquity in present living.

Vergil, Cicero, and Plato, together with Plutarch, Horace, and Juvenal, were the models of the Humanists. To them perfection of form and the complete development of human nature appeared as the ideals of classical times. The grandeur of the past, the Roman Empire, the *Aeneid*, the Pantheon roused the emulation of the Humanists, and they sought to recreate in the present what they saw in far and dim perspective as the perfect life. Some among them felt that they had outgrown the Church and its philosophy of

HUMANISM, 1450-1550

life. They found a new philosophy in ancient Rome. Others maintained their religious convictions and adapted classical forms to Christian ideas. Such a one was Michelangelo, a deeply spiritual man, whose genius turned the Roman arch and basilica into the cathedral of St. Peter, who took the biblical narrative as an inspiration for his immortal frescoes and statuary. Such a one was Nicholas V, who built and founded the Vatican Library. There was a pagan Humanism, and a Christian. One would burn a light before the bust of Plato. The other painted the Sistine Madonna.

Life in the Humanistic period was splendid and luxurious, in the towns and in the palaces of the wealthy. Meanwhile in rural parts the simpler folks continued their medieval round of life, of song and dance, of plowing and harvesting, of suffering and celebration, in close touch with the fundamentals of human existence. For the great there was grandeur as befitted the great man, the prince, the burgher, the duke, or the bishop. Food and dwelling rivaled in garish splendor the pomp of procession, play, and pageantry. Distant dignitaries battened luxuriously on the rents and stipends of the common classes. A great gap was opening between the upper and lower sections of society, as also between men of power and the moral lawgivers. It was an age of contrasts: Erasmus and Thomas More, Henry VIII and Isabella, Savonarola and Ignatius Loyola. It was an age when tremendous energies were pent up, energies that would flow in directions so opposed as the religious conflagration in the North and the religious success in the Americas. The time is difficult to classify, yet it was marked in most of Europe, outside Spain,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

by the quality of Humanism. As such it stood in sharp contrast to the former days of the Renaissance.

1. Humanism glorified man. It boasted of Michelangelo and Da Vinci as its universal men because of their varied and exalted talents, of the Medici as the grand men, of Erasmus as the clever man, and of St. Thomas More as the first gentleman in Europe. The educated Humanist aimed to imitate the classical dictum: "Homo sum; nihil humani a me alienum puto." The wealthy townsman exulted in his new human greatness, for he had added a *tertium* to human ideals beyond nobility and religion. The painters portrayed themselves at times, often other notable personalities. Playwrights eliminated the old miracle scenes in favor of plays picturing human enjoyment or struggle. Conquerors sought to carve out a place for themselves in the world.

2. Though much of this trend came from the Renaissance, its definitive character was set by the influx of Greek scholars into Italy after the Turks took Constantinople. Bishops, burghers, and dukes vied for the honor of sheltering scholars such as Chrysoloras. The search for classical manuscripts became intense, the Vatican leading the way in the pursuit. Christian and pagan Humanists alike combed classical mythology for ideas of artistic models, the former of course retaining their own religion, the latter accepting ancient gods as well as ancient manners, or else entirely abandoning any thought of divine worship. Reuchlin was a type of the Christian class, as was Aeneas Sylvius. Of the pagan, a sample was Lorenzo Valla, whose Epicurean conception of pleasure sounded fathomless depths, or Beccadelli, who wrote epigrams of grossest animality.

HUMANISM, 1450-1550

3. The most important historical influence of Humanism arose from its spirit of criticism. Independent and free-thinking, it contemptuously dubbed the preceding ages 'medieval,' and attacked their institutions from every side. Society must be overthrown! Erasmus and Thomas More himself, saint though he was, wrote against the failures of rulers and churchmen. Men of less restraint and statesmanship than More advocated free thought on all topics, free expression of all thought, the abolition of government and parental authority, and the remaking of the Church into a 'modern' institution. Tyndale did the same to the Bible. Luther wielded his club against almost everything. Calvin appeared to be a conservative, but his rigid organization and deterministic doctrine aimed to revolutionize European life. The critics credited all scholars with thoughts similar to their own, and they left to posterity the impression that the age was utterly dissatisfied with its inheritance. Fortunately the critics were outnumbered by the builders, such as those who bent their forces to a great positive achievement in the Western World.

4. The cult of the full life certainly did not stop the worldliness that was criticized by contemporaries. Worldly men sat in the seats of the mighty. Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X were more like Italian potentates than churchmen. Henry VIII was a pleasure-hunter, as were most of his royal colleagues, with the striking exception of the Spanish Isabella and Philip II. Spain seems not to have felt the Humanist movement. Her Renaissance was clearly a continuation of medieval life. In the Church the human side showed its weakness, and were it not divine it could never have survived the luxury and corrosive example of its many worldly leaders.

Humanism witnessed the first historic burst of scientific

HISTORY OF EUROPE

research. In mathematics and astronomy Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler astounded the learned world. Physics and physiology claimed their right as independent studies. History emerged in definite form with Baronius. Unfortunately, some scientists and theologians were unable to adapt themselves in the face of the new knowledge, and needless bitterness accompanied such statements as the conclusions of Galileo.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

The End of the Middle Ages

THE discovery of America furnished a providential outlet for the seething energies of sixteenth-century Europe. The outpouring of these energies and the reaction of the American exploit on Europe brought the Renaissance-Humanism epoch to a close and introduced the modern period of history with its power politics and economic nationalism. Contemporary with this turning to the West came the rise of a non-conformist culture in the old Continent. The years since 1500 have been deeply marked in business, thought, and politics by the events associated with the great discovery.

The Old World was well prepared for reaping advantage from the Columbian voyages. During the preceding century Portugal had opened up the western ocean and developed a brilliant school of geographers. In Genoa, Venice, and Barcelona banks stood ready to lend millions to new shipping and transatlantic enterprise. Most important of all, the Spanish people had been made ready for the broad campaign which their conquerors were soon to undertake.

Spain in 1500 vibrated with dynamic energy. Seemingly apart from the thought and life of contemporary Europe, she suddenly thrust herself into the leadership of the world. She had waged a stark and solitary struggle for eight centuries against the domination of the caliph of Cordova. Led by Don Pelayo and heroic Santiago on his white charger, her

HISTORY OF EUROPE

hardy Asturian mountaineers began at the Cave of Covadonga the long fight for religious and political freedom. By the twelfth century they had won the Castilian plateau, and the Portuguese and Spanish nations arose side by side in lands long under Mohammedan rule. Steadily they pressed southward until, in the union of Aragon and Castile and the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain consolidated a force that could expel the invader. From all sides they closed in on Granada. By 1492 they were masters of their country, and in that year Columbus sailed out of Palos onto the broad Atlantic.

Chivalry lived in Spain long after the other peoples took to Humanism. Valiant warriors served their lords and the high ideal of a crusading Christian nation. Their Pyrenees had housed the first parliaments of Europe, and they loved their freedom with a fierce fire born of long subjection. Battling for liberty, they drove out the Moors. With that victory won, they combined their forces under the direction of their famous queen and within fifty years they were masters of America. They were rugged, often ruthless, in individual combat or the exploitation of conquered nations. Withal they went ahead under the constant guidance and ever-present control of their rulers, and their most significant achievement is the full transfer of Spanish culture to the western hemisphere.

The result of the conquest, the civilization, and the Christianization of America was to shift the main arteries of Europe from the Rhine-Adriatic axis to the western ocean. A new thing in history—the urge toward emigration, the

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

dream of a broader, richer, happier life-caught the mind of the growing nations and led them to build on the Atlantic seaboard a new machinery for trade and transportation. New wealth was created for royalty and townsmen. New institutions were formed to take care of the sudden developments in government and business. As leadership moved from the center of the Continent to the coastal cities, scholars, missionaries, soldiers, and promoters turned their eyes to the Occident. They went forth from the home country to extend European culture to the world. The step is crucial in the course of world history.

1. The American success enabled two remarkable sovereigns, Charles V and Philip II, to make Spain the foremost power in Europe. Their people grew self-confident, for their conquests came at the time when the rest of Europe was divided into bitter factions over religious and national issues.
2. Henry the Navigator (1393-1463), crown prince of Portugal, founded near Lisbon his celebrated Sagres school for geographers and navigators. He patronized voyages and chartered captains to sail down the African coast. These sailors discovered the Azores, the Madeiras, the Cape Verde and the Canary islands, and the capes of Bojador, Blanco, Verde, and Good Hope. In 1487 Bartholomeu Diaz rounded the last-named point, and Vasco da Gama went on to India in 1498. Cabral, seeking India in 1500, discovered Brazil. Today there are over four hundred charts of western Europe and Africa made between 1400 and 1500. No learned man of that time doubted that the earth was round.
3. Christopher Columbus (1455-1506) was born in Genoa.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

At twenty he sailed to the Levant, and in the next year to England and Scandinavia. In 1477 in a Portuguese expedition he coasted Africa to the Gulf of Guinea. At the death of his first wife, Felipa Perestrello, he went to Spain, where in April of 1492 he finally got his charter for discovery from Queen Isabella. From 1492 to 1503 he made four voyages to America. Though another's name was given to the hemisphere, Columbus is the father of America.

4. Spain first occupied and colonized the West Indies, and then moved to the mainland at Panama. Cortes conquered Mexico and the rich Aztec culture. Pizarro took over Inca-land. Explorers charted the sea and land routes. After 1534 viceroys governed the greater districts. Santo Domingo was made the first American bishopric in 1496. The European civilization was transplanted through typical Spanish institutions and social organization.

5. The problem of uniting native and Spanish culture was solved by the feudal *encomienda* system, whereby Indians were entrusted to reliable Spaniards who were charged with the duties of civilizing and Christianizing, while they were permitted to exploit. A paternal system of administration in laws and court procedure endeavored to smooth the difficult situation. After disheartening failures the king finally decided that missionaries alone could succeed in solving the Indian problem. For two hundred years the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, in their unique mission system, strove to preserve the Indians from destruction and to amalgamate the two cultures.

6. The dominion and wealth of the Americas made them the prize possession of Spain. Portugal at first turned her atten-

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

tion to the East Indies, but after 1536 she labored seriously to build up Brazil. Her success equaled that of Spain. Iberian culture was firmly planted from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, and the European countries slowly awoke to the opportunities presented by the gift of Columbus.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

National Monarchies and Modern Times

MODERN history began in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The national monarchies, with their new national law, national language, national armies, and nationwide exercise of sovereignty, definitely supplanted the medieval practice of local independence and feudal rule. National currency and taxation, and—soon afterwards—national religion assisted in forming the typical *modern* way of living in the national State. The very idea of the State emerged from the simple scheme of the medieval commonwealth into that of the new centralized government, which would direct all possible activity in a country from one powerful center.

Absolutism was the spirit of these rulers who, in their rise to prominence, had gathered up the former powers of local governments and abolished, as far as they could, the individual liberties of local political units. All people of a State were now supposed to follow the will of the sovereign. The ancient imperial Roman notion that whatever pleased the prince had the force of law was restated in the maxim, “Cujus regio, ejus religio.” So great a power gave to the kings positions far stronger than those enjoyed by medieval monarchs, and enabled them to use greater force in developing national programs, whether of arms and conquest or of economic promotion and colonial development. The period of absolutism was a natural outgrowth of the Humanistic

NATIONAL MONARCHIES AND MODERN TIMES

era, with its insistence on human forces and human ambitions. Though its progress decidedly injured many individuals and institutions, it certainly brought on a new epoch in history and a break from medieval times.

The sixteenth century faced two outstanding problems: the internal development of these national monarchies, and the religious upheaval. To understand the second it is necessary to study the first. If one can grasp the facts in the struggle and ambition of the rising monarchies, he will come to understand better how they made successful use of the religious issue.

1. The student has followed the growth of the separate nations after the end of the Roman Empire in the West. The Treaty of Verdun first marked them off on the Continent, while England was slowly reaching a civilized unity. Remarkable rulers in England, France, and Germany built up family wealth and personal supremacy. Avignon and the Great Western Schism removed the universal public power of the papacy, and the Hundred Years' War further emphasized the independence and separation of the great countries.
2. Spain stood out in the sixteenth century. Her possessions in newly colonized America brought her distinction, wealth, and empire. Charles V (1500-1558)—in Spain Charles I—possessed the Habsburg dominions as an inheritance. In 1519 he was elected emperor. Though he embraced under his sway the Low Countries, the Germanies, Spain, Naples, and the New World, he wisely turned most attention to his western holdings and shifted the center of politics from central Europe to the peninsula. His son Philip II (1527-1598) was given the Low Countries and the Spanish colonial empire

HISTORY OF EUROPE

after Charles' abdication in 1556, and for forty-two years he was the strong man of Europe. The succession of Isabella, Charles V, and Philip II welded Spanish government into a centralized monarchy. Local *cortes* and ancient *fueros* carried on as of old, but above them a new national administration established itself firmly. Jews, Moors, Lutherans, and foreigners of all types were rigidly controlled, whether in religion, economic life, or political rights. Individual groups suffered under the Inquisition and other autocratic measures. Withal, the era was the Golden Age of Spain in chivalry, the arts, university life, and integrity of public service. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 is a symbol both of Spanish eminence and of subsequent decline.

3. France began the century with the heritage of Louis XI (1461-1483), whom his enemies unfairly dubbed 'King Spider.' Conquest was in the air, and Louis XII turned toward Italy, only to lose his Spanish friend, Ferdinand of Aragon, and to meet defeat at the hands of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Francis I (1515-1547) gained less renown from arms than from the renaissance of art which flowered in the France of his day. Autocracy had become traditional after Bertrand du Guesclin, but it was badly shaken by the religious wars of the late sixteenth century. These wars were primarily a struggle for the crown among three branches of the royal family—Valois, Navarre, and Guise. They used religion as a rallying cry, and Catholic and Huguenot, North and South, friend and foe of Philip II took sides in a devastating strife. Peace came with the Navarrese Henry IV, who became king in 1588 and embraced Catholicism in 1593. His Edict of Nantes, granting religious toleration in 1598, signified a check to absolutism, for it recognized both the right of a po-

NATIONAL MONARCHIES AND MODERN TIMES

itical minority to exist, and also the fact that more than one form of religion could obtain in the same territory. The agreement was one of convenience, a treaty between two bellicose powers, and quite inconsistent with the current concept of the national State. It was the germ of later warfare, even of the Revolution.

4. England accepted the Tudor dynasty after the Wars of the Roses in 1485. Feudal competition was replaced by royal despotism under Henry VII and his son Henry VIII (1509-1547). The latter was a youth of great promise who developed into a ruthless tyrant. His usurpation of the supreme headship of the Church in England paralleled his suppression of the monasteries in its effect on liberty and on absolutism. The changes therein inherent gave birth to a new class of wealthy spoilsmen, intent on maintaining their properties and their court influence at any cost. The poor were dispossessed and continued to be a fateful problem for three hundred years. Edward VI and Mary filled an interim of ten sad years. Elizabeth (1558-1603) safely weathered civil strife with the help of ambitious bourgeoisie and beguiled courtiers, in a rule characterized by the destruction of any opposition and by encouragement to the arts and to the monied interests. Typical of the day was Francis Drake, pirate, knighted squire, doughty captain against the Armada. Shakespeare, despite official hostility, mirrored the times in his incomparable dramas. The end of the century saw England on the rise. By and large the country was richer, but wealth was in fewer hands.

5. The Empire under Charles V faced a double problem: the religious revolt, and a hazardous combination of internal

HISTORY OF EUROPE

political struggle and external warfare with France. Italy became a pawn in the last-named conflict. The united provinces of Holland broke away during the mêlée. The Lutheran states profited by the Peace of Augsburg (1555) to advance their separatism. Roman law was widely accepted by the petty German rulers in a move to buttress their absolutism. The social and economic results of these movements left the German peoples in an unhappy plight for over a century, and then they were overwhelmed in the Thirty Years' War. Religion was used as the issue to raise up absolute states in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to make a general line of cleavage between the north and south of Europe.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

Martin Luther

IN 1517 Europe was shocked by a profound disturbance, destined to establish a new philosophy of life among many peoples. It was the religious revolt. Once called the Reformation—as it was considered a purifying of society and of religion—it is now better seen as a revolution or a violent overthrow of existing institutions. Named Protestant from the ‘protesting’ of its leaders at the Diet of Speyer in 1529 the various subsequent revolts grouped themselves under this catchword that would in future cover most opposition to Catholicism. The spearhead and propagandist of the revolt was Martin Luther.

Europe in 1517 was in no more need of a religious reformation than it had been in earlier times. The human element in Christianity is always in need of reform, and reform is one of the basic reasons for the existence of the Church. There were indeed worldly prelates and worldly rulers, lax living in lay and clerical quarters, naturalism rife among the Humanists, individualism leading gifted men to overthrow the restraint of social obligations and divine guidance. Yet the truer causes of the German uprising are to be sought in ambitious princes, rural poverty and disturbances such as the Bundschuh movements, and growing nationalism and its use to create resentment against Rome whence came ecclesiastical authority and to which went the contributions of the pious faithful. In a certain sense Europe was experiencing

HISTORY OF EUROPE

'growing pains' in the changes of politics and economics. Had Spain, Portugal, and Italy joined the movement—and they had their abuses quite as noticeably as had the northern nations—a historian might seek a continental cause for the rebellion against the old religion. Their refusal to become Protestant—despite the worldliness there prevalent, the Renaissance, the nationalism and economic readjustments which were building up the Hispanic peninsula and tearing down Italy and the Mediterranean trade monopolies—forces one to find the causes for the revolt in certain strong men who used their local situations to set up new powers and to solidify them by the creation of a new kind of religious organization.

There had been earlier religious protests and organized oppositions similar to that of Luther, but the times had not then been ripe for successful separation from the Church. The sixteenth century furnished an opportunity, and much of northern Europe seized upon it to organize state religions in contrast to the universal religion. Without the fostering of princes, it seems that none of the new sects, not even Calvinism, would have taken root. How the whole movement succeeded is a very large problem, the main lines of which will be sketched in the next three chapters.

1. Martin Luther (1483-1546) was born at Eisleben in Germany. As a boy he was vigorous, ambitious, moody, and sincere. In 1505 he entered the Augustinian order at Erfurt. By 1508 he was teaching at Wittenberg, where he soon became a doctor in Sacred Scripture. In 1511 he was sent as a representative of his monastery to a conference in Rome.

MARTIN LUTHER

The crisis in his life came in worries and scruples over past sins, such as omission of prayers and the divine office. In his muddle he refused to ask advice and became highly neurotic, convinced of his eternal damnation, unable to see that he could be forgiven. Seeking a way out of this maze, his eye caught the words of St. Paul: "Justus meus ex fide vivit." Luther grasped at this straw and rebuilt his psychology on justification by faith alone. No priests, no Church were needed for his kind of justification, and so he added his 'private interpretation of Scripture.' Luther held that a man was made 'just,' or saved, by trusting in the merits of the crucified Christ, whose sacrifice covered man like a cloak. From this teaching it followed that salvation did not depend on good works and merits. There was no venial sin and no purgatory, no confession, no sanctifying grace, no authority nor hierarchy in the Church, and really no Church at all.

2. This new doctrine was first openly stated when Luther posted his famous ninety-five theses on the church door at Wittenberg in 1517. His chief attack was directed against indulgences—the remission of the temporal punishment due to sin—which were then under fire for certain abuses in collecting money for the building of St. Peter's and for some careless statements of doctrine by the indulgence preacher Tetzel. In the debate that followed, Luther did poorly in his doctrinal arguments, but his diatribes aroused the countryside against the foreign beneficiaries of alms given in connection with indulgences. The elector of Saxony here saw a great chance for political and financial loot, and he took the lead in the movement. Princes and knights, likewise anxious to throw off the Habsburg control and to realize the Renaissance ideals of fame, power, and wealth, found in the revolt

HISTORY OF EUROPE

an opportunity to escape the restraints imposed by the Church, the bishops, and the emperor, and to confiscate ecclesiastical wealth and gain their independence. For a while Luther favored a peasant uprising and tried to turn it against the Church, but when it got out of hand he urged its rigorous suppression. He himself abandoned his vows, married an ex-nun, and set out on a vigorous campaign to establish his new religion.

3. Luther was aided in his effort by his own immense personal talent for catching the public ear. His hymns, homilies, and biblical translations are classic in the German tongue. He drew remarkable disciples to his side, chief among them Melanchthon, who formulated the positive statement of his doctrine, and the notorious Centuriators of Magdeburg. The doctrine itself was presumably drawn from St. Augustine, though in reality it was but one of the heresies demolished by that great man. Luther was unfortunate in his education, the training typical of the decadent philosophy of his time. Presumptuously he claimed a full understanding of Aquinas, but the documents of the day show how mistaken he was, how little knowledge of divinity he had acquired. Declining Scholasticism worshipped the clever mind, the sharp distinction, the wordy argument, and had lost interest in the core of the truth. The thought of Luther is a reflection of that decline.

4. The emperor Charles V tried to stem the revolt, but his efforts were defeated by vacillating friends and by his preoccupation with the Turks and with the troubles of Spain. By 1555, through the Peace of Augsburg, the right of the ruler to determine the religion of his subjects had become legal. Northern Germany in general accepted the new religion. It became triumphant in all the Scandinavian countries, where

MARTIN LUTHER

the enormous increase in royal revenue due to the despoiling of the Church made the rulers strong in their absolutism. The change did not occur without a struggle, but banishment and persecution silenced the opposition. The first step in the religious revolt was successful. The victory fell to the princes, who were quick to utilize the old Roman civil law in its new statement: "Cujus regio, ejus religio."

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CHAPTER XXXIX

Calvinism

THE religious revolt of the sixteenth century developed from three centers: Saxony, France-Geneva, and England. The Lutheran movement had the first success and set the model. The English effort made the results permanent from a material point of view. But for the intellectual content Calvin was indispensable. His writings and his Geneva training school radiated the thought and method that established Protestantism in many quarters of Europe.

The attack of Calvin was doctrinal rather than historical. And yet he maintained a certain parallel with Luther in his personal change of religion. With both men a psychological explanation helps to the understanding of their primary moves in the revolution. Both showed the influence of faulty philosophical training in the deviations of their thought. Both solidified their work by political support. And as Luther had his Melanchthon and his Flacius Illyricus, Calvin had his Beza and his John Knox.

The differences in their careers are striking. Luther sought the allurements of life. Calvin maintained a moody aloofness from pleasure, a seriousness that was melancholy. Luther thrived on the assistance of princes. Calvin himself seized power and set up a theocratic state in Geneva. Lutheran rulers established a somewhat peaceful settlement. Calvinistic dominion was gained only at the cost of severity and the

CALVINISM

sword. Wherever the tenets of Calvin took hold, civil war broke out and bitterness remained.

1. Jean Chauvin, or John Calvin (1509-1564), of Noyon was sent by his father to the University of Paris for clerical studies. He did well in philosophy and literature, but his physical and moral unfitness led his father in 1528 to urge the abandonment of the ecclesiastical course in favor of the law. During legal study he spent much time debating the old Arabian idea of the 'two truths' and the evils of his day. His precocious mind, driven by the first failure to extreme self-assertion, and his anti-social outlook on life combined to fashion a new system for the cure of his world.

As the circle of his admirers widened, the police put him out of France, and he went to Basel, where Zwingli was then laboring hard to uproot Catholicism. Calvin now wrote his powerful instrument of revolution, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and in 1536 he had the work published in Geneva. He reached Geneva in that year. There he joined energetically in the local movement for independence from the duke of Savoy and from the old religion. His reward for that service was the appointment as chief pastor of the city, a post which he held, except for a brief period of exile, until his death.

2. In 1529 Calvin went through an emotional experience which he called his 'conversion.' Perplexed, he sought a way out of his personal difficulties. He told himself that the Church did not "meet the needs of his day" nor of his own disposition. In his club debates he developed a substitute, a religion akin to the old Grecian idea of fate. Unlike Luther, he did not found a state church but a church state. His prin-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

cipal doctrines may be stated in summary under the following nine headings:

- a) God is the all-seeing, omnipotent Lord of all things, who works out the lives of men on His own pattern and without any provision for human freedom. Before their birth He dooms all men either to eternal joy or to eternal perdition. Calvin denied that God died for all men and that men were able by the exercise of their free will to observe the moral law. Thus his predestination.
 - b) Those predestined to heaven were the elect. They could not lose their predestination no matter what they did.
 - c) The elect were recognized by visible signs, among which was the emotional experience of 'conversion' similar to his own vision. Another was success in material pursuits.
 - d) The elect could not sin. (In Calvin's system of unfree beings no one could sin.)
 - e) Calvin urged a representative religious rule, though he himself remained the dictator of Geneva. His followers chose their elders in presbyterian election. He encouraged private interpretation of Scripture on the basis of personal revelations.
 - f) The reprobate were known by their deformities, sickness, failure, and sin.
 - g) All games, dances, and festivals conflicted with a pure gospel.
 - h) Those who opposed him deserved intolerant treatment as heretics.
 - i) All sacraments were to be abolished except baptism and a symbolic supper. No priesthood was necessary, as the Deity had no vicars.
3. Calvin acted as the theological and political dictator of

CALVINISM

Geneva. To perpetuate his system he established the famous Academy of Geneva, to which disciples came from all parts of Europe, among them John Knox. His pupil Beza succeeded him as head of the academy after his death. From Geneva emissaries were sent to Paris, Holland, Scotland, Hungary, and hundreds of other districts. His best-known followers were the Presbyterians of Scotland, the Huguenots in France, the Dutch Calvinists, and the English Puritans. These groups fathered most of the American sects. His was the one systematic doctrine in the religious revolt, a closely connected logical unit if its first principles were granted, and thus its importance in history is immense.

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CHAPTER XL

Henry VIII and the Monasteries

THE story of the religious revolt in England has been entirely rewritten since the days of Macaulay. When the Anglican clerics Jessopp, Brewer, and Gairdner became dissatisfied with the traditional account of Bluff King Hal and Good Queen Bess, they re-studied the subject and led subsequent writers to abandon the official tale of how their nation was made over in the sixteenth century. That narrative has little of religion in it—or rather it reveals the effort to destroy a religion and replace it with a compromise that would enable the Tudor government to carry on. Luther and Calvin certainly held definite religious beliefs. They labored to change the old religion and to bring men to accept their own views. Seymour, Elizabeth, Cecil, and their servitors were not interested in religion. For them the matter in hand was power, wealth, fame, and pleasure, and, later on, the peace of the realm in a badly distracted commonwealth. The English ‘Reformation’ was not a reformation at all but merely the transition period between the Renaissance and modern times.

The most important single act in that historical drama was the suppression of the English monasteries in 1536 and 1539. That suppression rescued the failing Tudor dynasty. It struck a serious blow at Catholicism. And it filled the coffers of a class of newly rich whose subsequent business for two hundred years would consist chiefly in maintaining their

HENRY VIII AND THE MONASTERIES

ill-gotten wealth. The suppression more than any other cause created the pauper class and elevated the rich into a position where they could dominate Europe.

The marital infidelity of Henry led him to the first severance from Rome. His tainted daughter made it permanent through fear of losing her scepter. To justify the revolt all manner of excuses were invented, chief among them the unworthiness of the old religious life in the entire kingdom. To enforce the new settlement a bitter persecution was engendered, with the despoiling of countless citizens. Shakespeare left in *Henry VIII* his judgment of what was completed in that day.

1. Old England loved the Church and its Roman center of life, as she loved her beautiful spires and chantries, her universities and monasteries. St. Thomas More in his *Utopia* pointed out the glaring inequalities and failures in the régime, yet he died to preserve its unity. There were isolated heretics, reformers, and worldly and absentee officials in the Church. Writers often threw the spotlight on these people, crowding into the shadow the multitude of excellent men and women who were their contemporaries. The truth is that a small clique in power forced the bishops and lay lords, under the threat of attainder and death, to accept the changed order, while the newly rich and the ambitious grasped the spoils and dominated the masses of the country.

2. Henry VIII (1491-1547), second son of Henry VII and a healthy, bright, kindly young man, married Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Of their six children only one, Mary, lived to maturity. In 1527 Henry, to prepare the way for Anne Boleyn, told his wife that their

HISTORY OF EUROPE

marriage was invalid, that all these years he had lived in sin. Thus began the long trial that ended in his decree of his own divorce, his alliance with Anne, his excommunication, and his declaration of himself as the supreme head of the Church in England in 1534. In 1533 Elizabeth was born, and in 1536 Edward VI. Refusal to recognize the new order meant death, and seventy thousand died for opposing Henry.

3. Henry employed strategy to break the backbone of English loyalty to Rome. He and Thomas Cromwell grossly exaggerated or, where necessary, invented the abuses in the monasteries, thus to justify the order for their suppression. Cautiously he attacked the lesser houses, 376 of which were broken up in 1536, with all their inmates and dependents dispersed. The 'pilgrimage of grace,' an armed protest against the act, was dissolved by royal cruelty and perfidy. Then in 1539 he had the 202 larger monasteries, convents, and priories closed. Eight thousand religious, eighty thousand dependents were expelled. Somewhat later he, and his son after him, confiscated large endowments of universities, colleges, chantries, guilds, and hospitals. In all, 645 monasteries, 90 colleges of priests, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries were abolished, and their revenues and properties confiscated to the crown. Curiously enough, a trifling amount of this wealth came to the king himself. With the rest he bought the support of favorites who received the lands, buildings, and titles to revenue.

The tenants of monastic lands were turned out and most of the meadows made into 'enclosures' for the rising sheep industry. A productive economy was thus disrupted and financial chaos ensued. The large mass of wandering paupers created a distressing problem which was met by the ironic law

HENRY VIII AND THE MONASTERIES

forbidding pauperism. Education received a great setback, and public morality was dealt an irreparable blow.

4. Henry VIII did not change the defined doctrine or established liturgy of Catholicism. In the reign of his weak son a compound of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin was enacted as the Forty-Two Articles. By the use of the Edwardine ordinal a complete break severed the line of the priesthood. New law protected the spoils of the monasteries. During the rule of Mary (1553-1558) a restoration of Catholicism was attempted, but the coming of Elizabeth fixed the new Anglican system on the land as the Established Church. She promised her dying sister to keep the old religion, but she herself had no religion nor belief in the supernatural. To retain her illegitimate throne she had to buy the support of her Macchiavellian advisers, Burleigh and Walsingham, whose interest in their family loot was equal to hers in her crown.

5. Elizabeth (1558-1603) was a sad queen in her last days, though in her youth she saw the heyday of national life. The new capitalism increased fortunes and led to an expansion of commerce and travel. Writers glorified the nation of the past and prophesied a grand future. Playwrights entertained large audiences with legends and dreams of greatness. Lavish homes were built. Ships came and departed from many ports. And in such crises as the Armada all parties united to ensure an English victory. The political successes of the throne over Mary Stuart, Philip II, and internal disturbers added to the pride of Englishmen, however sordid might be the tools used in the business. Elizabeth played her sly game of coy coquetry with several sovereigns, offering and withholding her hand in this strange type of diplomatic maneuver as best served the occasion.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Her work in religion aimed to perpetuate an arrangement that would preserve civil peace at any cost. Her early attitude toward the Church, though decidedly hostile, yet fell short of actual bloodshed. In 1570 she was excommunicated by Pius V. After that date she realized that the tide was running against her, and she adopted violent methods to break the spirit of Catholics. In 1563 she had accepted, as head of the Church of England, the permanent Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican belief. Now she and her ministers turned all the force of persecution against those who refused to give up their religion. At the same time Queen Mary Stuart was held as a hostage, and later removed by plain judicial murder. Hundreds were executed for the 'treason' of following their consciences, and thousands went into exile on the same count. The timid conformed, as did the ambitious. The state of public honor may be seen in the knighting of the pirate Drake and many of his kind. It would fall lower in succeeding generations.

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CHAPTER XLI

The Catholic Reform

ALTHOUGH the sixteenth century witnessed notable defections from the Catholic Church, there was an equally notable quickening of life within the old religion. This latter historic movement occurred in two phases. There was first an internal reform, and later a counter-reform against the religious revolution. The former was connected with earlier forces of reform such as the Brethren of the Common Life in the Low Countries and Germany, farsighted leaders of the type of Nicholas of Cusa, and the religious inspiration of Spain after Isabella and Ximenes. The counter-reform can be traced directly to the challenge of the religious revolt. Loyal laymen and clerics championed the old religion in deeds of the spirit and of arms, as they worked to check the new and to revive the old in France, England, the Germanies, and to a lesser extent in Italy and Spain. The success of the counter-reform can be traced to the agents of the internal reform, and it is these latter who are here studied.

The two possible fields for reform were belief and conduct. In faith there was no innovation. In morals and discipline there was a strong reaction against the spiritual lassitude of Humanism. In a sense the march of history called for readjustments. The coming of age of the new nations and the decline of feudalism left many churchmen in positions where honor and wealth were divorced from service.

THE CATHOLIC REFORM

Absentee bishops were a frequent occurrence. Lay incumbents of posts properly held only by the clergy, such as canonries and ecclesiastical judgeships, inverted the order and hierarchy of organization. Preoccupation with Italian political affairs had consumed an excessive amount of time and interest for several of the popes. Many continental monasteries needed careful pruning and supervision. And the fifteenth-century harvest of riches had induced a luxury of life quite prejudicial to good ideals.

The reform began almost simultaneously with the revolt. The very year of the open attack of Luther saw Henry VIII write his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* and Ignatius Loyola dedicate himself to the service of his Captain.

The movement proceeded historically in three successive phases. First came the inspirational force, in the revitalized papacy. Then the plan for reform was devised by the Council of Trent. The action followed, in the vigorous enterprise of several characters who devoted their talent to this vitally important work.

1. In 1527 the soldiers of Charles V effected the sack of Rome. That devastating attack put an end to the Italian Renaissance and to the Renaissance papacy. At the death of the much-worried Clement VII a successor was chosen who would revolutionize the conduct of the papal office. This man, Alessandro Farnese, took the name of Paul III (1534-1549). Though his lay life had been very worldly, after ordination he became an exemplary cleric, and once in the papacy he was outstanding. He broke with Renaissance tradition and appointed excellent men to official positions, among them Contarini, Caraffa, and Pole. In 1536 he set up

HISTORY OF EUROPE

a reform commission to study the needs of the Church, and in 1545 he convened the Council of Trent. The Inquisition was reorganized, the Index enforced. Religious orders—Capuchins, Jesuits, Ursulines—were approved. After his death his successors, particularly Julius III, Paul IV, and Pius V, sought to imitate him. They gave a spiritual renewal to the Curia and set a high example of attention to duty and of energetic government.

2. The most important force for reform within the Church was the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the nineteenth general council. The preceding Fifth Lateran Council in 1512 had disbanded without taking any special action on the morals of the day. Now that the revolt was in full swing, all parties, including the revolters, demanded that a general council be summoned to settle the difficulties. Needless to say, the dissidents refused to attend or to obey the council, whose great work was to usher in a revival of sound discipline and zeal among the faithful. Rivalries of princes and fear of alienating the 'reformers' delayed the opening of the council until December of 1545. The sessions began early in the next year and continued with frequent and long interruptions until the final meetings of 1563.

On matters of *faith*, the decrees of the council attacked the problems of the time. They restated in definitive form the doctrines on the Bible and tradition as the source of revelation, and on faith, original sin, grace, and the sacraments. In *conduct*, the decrees dealt with the removal of abuses, and new disciplinary procedure. Abuses discussed involved absentees, indulgence questors, collectors of alms, pluralities, exemptions, stipends, and simony. New prescriptions were made regarding seminaries, schools and colleges, preacher

THE CATHOLIC REFORM

training, requirements for ordination, the conditions of marriage (the *Tametsi*), and diocesan synods.

Pius IV approved the decrees of the Council on January 26, 1564. Italy, Poland, and Portugal received them at once. Religious and political difficulties made their acceptance less prompt in the other countries.

3. The ideas of the council were made effective through a host of saints, able churchmen, gifted scholars, zealous popes, and particularly by the assistance of the religious orders which developed in profusion at the very time of the revolt. Theatines, Capuchins, Oratorians and Oblates, Ursulines, Sisters of Notre Dame and of Charity arose between 1524 and 1597, and the old orders achieved a new vigor. Exceptional for rapid diffusion and intensive effort were the Jesuits, who were approved by Paul III in 1540.

The Society of Jesus can scarcely be called a Spanish order, although its origin and character owe a great deal to the country of its founder. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) was a knight of Charles I. Felled by a cannon shot, in convalescence he determined to devote his life to the service of the King of Kings. At the University of Paris, where he was a near-contemporary of Calvin in the College of Montaigu, he gathered ten remarkable men, the greatest among them Francis Xavier. University men all, they were fired with the ambition of Loyola to make themselves a 'light cavalry' at the complete service of the Holy Father. They foreswore all ecclesiastical dignities and took the religious vows. Obedience became their special mark and bond of union. They came in an epoch that offered wonderful opportunities for spiritual achievement. The leader wrote the constitutions of the order, directed their training and work, and sent them to all parts

HISTORY OF EUROPE

of the world. Their success in missionary effort and in education played a large part in the history of the time.

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CHAPTER XLII

Philip II

AT THIS point in the story it is plain that medieval history is ended and that modern times are in full swing. America has been discovered. The new national monarchies rule Europe. The religious revolutions have split the Continent horizontally into two parts. Another wave is moving onward in the record of mankind.

Modern European history arose on three foundations: the discovery of America, the religious revolt, and the new absolutist national monarchies. The New World induced many individuals, groups, and governments of Europe to develop the distant continents, and this development reacted on Europe as a forcing-bed for new institutions and new attitudes of mind. The religious quarrels left a lasting line of cleavage between North and East, South and West; and the denial of the authority of the Church, coupled with the advocacy of the private interpretation of Scripture, profoundly influenced the modern approach to science and politics.

The third characteristic of the modern age was absolutism. Kings became a law unto themselves, and many citizens copied their example. As a result there was a comparatively unchecked exploitation of political and economic opportunities.

This exploitation swung like a pendulum in opposite directions. In many countries the religious revolt removed the universal moral check of an authoritative religion, thus leav-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ing ambition and human enterprise largely outside and beyond religious influence. On the one hand this unhampered individualism has played havoc with personal and popular rights, and frequently since 1500 absolutist rulers have supplanted representative government. The medieval democracy of town management, university control, and guild direction slowly began to yield to the pressure of the autocrat. On the other hand there has been much progress in individual enjoyment of comfort and in personal achievement, with a simultaneous lack of social outlook and of sense of social obligation. Book knowledge has become widespread. More abundant wealth has enabled men to travel widely. Means of communication have developed to an astounding degree, an aid both to fine human relations and to the users of propaganda. After 1500 men came to a fuller sense of their own powers, a fact that helped them to reach objectives undreamed of before that date.

Still the old ideals persisted—the universal regard for truth, honor, nobility, and virtue. Nothing is more vapid than the habit of some ‘moderns’ who speak of their contemporaries as medieval in their thinking. Some things are *always* true. Indeed, the word ‘modern’ is most captivating to the very ones who fail to realize that every age has considered itself modern. This strange attitude often betrays astounding ignorance. There are, for instance, some three hundred million people in the world who hold to Catholic thought and practice—dogma and moral principle—and who have a vital effect on current human behavior. Those who do not know this consider the Church a medieval affair. In reality it is

PHILIP II

ancient, medieval, and modern; at the same time old and new; historically one and continuous.

The first century of modern times, the sixteenth, had as its outstanding ruler Philip II of Spain. His realm in Europe, America, and the Orient far exceeded in size the old Roman Empire. He lived through all the important changes in his epoch, and played a part in many of them. It is plain that his task was too great for the capacities of any one man. He himself fell short of his ideal, though he devoted all his attention and energy to his work. In England, and especially in the Netherlands, he failed completely. Elsewhere—and that means in most of his rule—he was a notable success. In the history of sovereigns he has few superiors.

1. Philip II (1527-1598) received from his father Spain, the Two Sicilies, the Netherlands, and all America when Charles abdicated in 1556. After 1580 and the union with Portugal he ruled all the immense Portuguese dominions. Not so brilliant as his precursor Isabella, he inherited her singleness of soul and nobility of character. He had great authority as a ruler, and he used it to the full, even in conflict with the papacy. Toward Rome he acted as an autocrat. He was loyal to the pope, yet distrustful of French and German influences at the Curia, for he suspected that those forces leaned toward the Protestantism which he loathed and feared.

2. Philip II married Mary Tudor. After the death of Mary in 1558, Elizabeth in coy dishonesty proposed to him, but her conduct toward the Huguenots betrayed her manifest insincerity. He tried to help the imprisoned Mary Stuart, in his eyes an important Catholic leader. Walsingham discovered the plans and publicized Philip as the enemy of Eng-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

land. As a result Catholic and Protestant united to defend the country against the Armada. England, too, envied his colonial possessions. Many of her writers urged their countrymen to imitate Spain in America. Her sailors carried on a piracy against his dominions, until at last in retaliation he formed his Armada. Out of these events the Englishmen concocted the unhappy 'Black Legend,' the legend of an evil, backward Spain.

3. The Netherlands story added to the Black Legend. This province of Spain saw its merchants overtaxed and regimented, its people comparing the Spanish-born Philip unfavorably with his Flemish father. A desire for independence took root. Holland was becoming increasingly Calvinistic, thus further adding to the fires of revolution. When riots occurred Philip sent the Duke of Alva, and this soldier laid a heavy hand on the patriots. Too late was Farnese sent to try pacification. In 1580 the northern half of the Low Countries declared its freedom. The southern provinces retained their allegiance and became the Spanish Netherlands.

In France, Philip as an anti-Huguenot and a Habsburg opposed the Huguenots and the anti-Habsburgs. France also sought to annex his Neapolitan provinces. The quarrel ended in a draw.

4. The greatest work of Philip II was done in connection with his overseas dominions—the Americas, the Philippines, and the Portuguese East Indies. Here, as in Spain, Philip has been accused of despotism in centralizing his empire. But Philip was no despot. He lived *under* the law. And Merriam has shown that there was little effective centralization in the Spanish dominions. Philip loved Spain, as he loved glory, duty, and his religion, and he bent his energies to

PHILIP II

building in his distant domains a permanent Hispanic government and culture. The difficulties were immense: the far-flung provinces, the barbarian races, distant subordinates, ambitious sons of conquerors, the organizing of the first empire since Rome. For the natives he encouraged the *encomienda* as the most practicable social system. For the tribes on the frontiers he fixed the policy of missions, that broad and effective program for civilizing and Christianizing. Toleration was offered to Protestants and Jews if they kept the peace. Only the pirates roused his ire, as Hawkins, Drake, and their fellows robbed and killed his subjects. From this piracy came his plan of the Armada of 1588-1589, the defeat of which opened the oceans to the ships of England, France, and Holland.

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CHAPTER XLIII

France from 1598 to 1660

IN THE age of Richelieu France underwent a thorough national reorganization. The movement brought that country to the forefront in Europe, and for the first time presented a nation engaged in power politics. In the light of the subsequent Franco-German rivalries, the story is basic in modern history.

After the reign of Philip II Spain began to decline as a European power. Her colonial empire, indeed, continued its expansion and consolidation for two more centuries, and on the Continent her monarchy dictated manners to every court, while her literature matched that of England and France. It was in the field of economics that decay appeared. The crown had given to several cities, notably Cadiz and Seville, commercial and shipping monopolies, and in time this grant came to constitute a severe check on trade in the rest of Spain. The budget was never balanced after 1598. The expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, coupled with the heavy weight of the *alcabala* and other internal tolls, ruined agriculture, industry, and commerce. The vast amount of imported American gold and silver brought on a price revolution and a disastrous inflation. Rebellion added to the other woes, and Portugal won its freedom in 1640.

Quite otherwise was the picture of rapid growth in France, from the Edict of Nantes (1598) to the personal rule of Louis XIV. At the outset the country was in misery and

FRANCE FROM 1598 TO 1660

disorder from the protracted civil wars. The government was bankrupt. The Estates General, that democratic remnant of medieval life, had been found incapable of energetic action, and the Parlements, or law courts, in Paris and the provinces lay under the same inertia. Huguenot opposition to kingship had been discredited by the fratricidal wars. The way now lay open for a new loyalty to a popular king, and Henry IV (1589-1610) and his great minister Sully grasped their opportunity.

Sully merely prepared the ground for that remarkable statesman, Cardinal Richelieu, whose ministrations assured the supremacy of France. His famous twofold purpose—to make the king supreme in France and France pre-eminent in Europe—was well established at his death in 1642. And when Mazarin took over the leading rôle from his deceased predecessor and patron, the Golden Age of France arrived.

i. Sully, the Huguenot treasurer of Henry IV, first attacked the public debt. Every subordinate received identical forms for making his reports and every item was filled in and later verified. Spoils were returned on threat of prosecution. Interest on the public debt was halved. Property taxes and carriage tolls were cut to a fraction, and yet the total revenue increased. Within fifteen years Sully had paid off 135 million livres of the public debt. He left a surplus of 35 million in the treasury, and he had funds enough to buy arms and munitions, to build new fortifications, and to endow many public works.

A model for his later successor, Colbert, Sully followed the doctrine of mercantilism. In the thesis of mercantilism the financial strength of a nation depends upon the quantity of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

gold and silver in its banks and treasury. Precious metals may not be exported. A favorable balance of trade must be maintained, and thus raw goods are imported and manufactured articles are shipped out to colonies and controlled markets. Industry and commerce demand regulation in this plan. Hence, while giving encouragement to agriculture for home consumption, Sully paid great attention to industry. The Gobelin tapestry firm was established. Silk manufacture thrived in the Lyons district, and silk worms and mulberry trees were imported and protected. Glass workers came from Venice to create a new French product. Roads and waterways improved. In this effort the king upheld his minister and used his personal popularity to further the economic design. It was a calamity to France when Henry was assassinated by a fanatic in 1610. He had laid the foundations on which Monsieur le Cardinal would build.

2. Armand-Jean du Plessis Cardinal de Richelieu (1585-1642) was the father of modern France. As the young bishop of Luçon he sat in the Estates General convoked by the queen regent in 1614. At this time his country faced another financial crisis, brought on by wastage of the hard-won savings of Sully. The meeting lasted but three weeks. Inability of the delegates to agree on action enabled Marie de Medici to send them home, for, she said, she needed the hall for a dance. But not before Richelieu had arisen. Called on for an opinion, he quietly observed that the Estates General was an outworn, medieval institution, and ought to be abolished. Ten years later he was summoned to be prime minister. His king, Louis XIII (1610-1643), had made him secretary of state in 1618. He now proceeded to serve his king as few kings have been served.

FRANCE FROM 1598 TO 1660

3. Bulwer-Lytton and Belloc have exalted his rule. Primary in his thought was the destruction of all who opposed his royal master. The Huguenots, the presumptuous nobles, the English, and the Habsburgs were the enemy. These overcome, he would foster the new American colonies which Sully and Champlain had founded, would reorganize the national administration, and would bring all Europe to respect his royal master.

For six years he waged war against internal antagonists. Under cover of the Edict of Nantes, granting religious toleration and castle rights to Huguenots, this aggressive party had formed a state within a state. At La Rochelle in 1629 he destroyed their power. The blow brought many of the great nobles over to Catholicism, for they now saw in the 'Men of the Night' only a quarrelsome minority. Their castles were razed, their civil powers cut short. Every district war forced to accept the *intendants*, those "eyes and ears of the crown," and to attend the court of the king. The English abettors of the rebels were expelled and obliged to make peace.

In time Richelieu turned his masterful hand to the humiliation of the Habsburgs in the Thirty Years' War. Meanwhile in the West Indies and in Canada remarkable success accompanied the royal efforts. At home, however, the budget once more got out of control, and devious methods were used to exact tribute for the treasury. Richelieu was a man whose conscience did not interfere with his will. Injustice never stood in the way of ambition, which saw his glory reflected in the splendor of the king. To him religion was merely a pawn of politicians.

4. Mazarin, "mild, and subtle," tided over the interval until Louis XIV came of age. For five years he fought against the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Fronde, a rebellion raised against his hated edicts and the oppression of the absolute monarchy. He formed the League of the Rhine to threaten the emperor and to protect the Dutch Republic. In 1659 he won, by the Peace of the Pyrenees, a triumph over the Spanish Habsburgs. His régime imitated the model set by Richelieu.

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CHAPTER XLIV

The Thirty Years' War

FROM 1618 to 1648 Europe was involved in a long series of conflicts. These wars crystallized the results of the religious revolution, devastated the central Germanic states, and started the Holy Roman Empire on its way to death. Until the World War of 1914-1918 no more disastrous struggle ever struck the people of the Continent than this unhappy strife of religions, races, and rulers.

It was not properly a war of religion. It was a war for power, and religion was used as a cloak to cover these designs. Moreover, it was a war against German unity, conducted by France and Sweden, with the smaller German states as pawns against the emperor. France wanted to shatter the strength of the Habsburgs and to win the two vital points of strategic value in Middle Europe—the Valtelline Pass and the fortress of Breisach. Sweden sought the northern German provinces in a scheme to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. Both parties used a small internal discord to start up a great conflagration. The resultant poverty and disunity of Germany lasted until the coming of Bismarck two centuries later. On the other hand France emerged from the conflict as the dominant power on the Continent, and Sweden ruled the Northeast for seventy more years.

To understand the battle story it is necessary to recall that the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings of Spain belonged to the Habsburg family. The Empire in-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

cluded all lands between the Danube and the Baltic. Spain controlled the Spanish Netherlands, Franche Comté, and the Milanais in northern Italy, and could count on a friendly passage from south to north through the Habsburg dominions. Ascendant France sought to break this circuit of opposing powers. Sweden, already entrenched along the north-eastern Baltic, aimed at further conquest on its southern rim. The able and ambitious Gustavus Adolphus may have longed for election to the imperial title. France and Sweden, then, proposed to drive a wedge into the Habsburg realm by intruding between the Spanish and Austrian possessions, and thereafter to weaken the hold of the Habsburg family on the Empire.

Within the Empire two hostile forces played into the hands of these foreign schemers. It will be recalled that the Peace of Augsburg (1555) accepted the *status quo* of the Diet of Speyer (1529) in regard to religious rights. That agreement fixed the titles of the Catholic and Lutheran princes and decreed that no further change could be made in ecclesiastical property holdings. This second provision was not faithfully enforced. The Lutherans felt shackled by the contract. Catholics through the Counter-Reform had won back many Germans to the old religion and expected to recover several bishoprics lost in 1555. Finally, a new element, the Calvinist expansion, quite upset the earlier balance struck at Augsburg. Frederick, the elector of the Palatinate, was a Calvinist and put himself forth as the champion of his sect in their demand for official recognition as a third religion and for an important part in imperial politics.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Religion thus appeared in the public eye as the matter of dispute. Hiding behind this front was the more real *casus belli*—political ambition, and particularly demands for greater economic power on one side or the other. Four of the seven electors were Catholics, and the non-Catholics wished to force a change in that alignment. The Augsburg agreement—that administrators of Catholic church property who became Protestants could not take that property with them—infuriated the lay princes of Germany, of whom every one except the duke of Bavaria had accepted Protestantism. Finally, the “immediate origin of the Thirty Years’ War was due to the ambitious folly of a German Calvinist prince, Frederick Count Palatine. Politically and morally the Catholic-imperial attitude was justified in 1618. Frederick and his supporters upset the peace of Europe and gratuitously threw the empire and ultimately all Europe into a prolonged and agonizing war.”

1. The war carried on through four phases. The first, the Bohemian revolt, dated from the rival Protestant and Catholic unions which were formed in 1609 to protect the interests of each. Frederick now had himself elected king of Bohemia by the Czech Calvinists, who refused to recognize their king, Ferdinand, although in 1617 he had already been elected emperor. To make their stand plain they murdered the imperial envoys in Prague. This act broke the Protestant union and forced Frederick to face the emperor in battle. The imperial general Tilly routed the Palatine forces.
2. The Danish period followed as King Christian IV in 1625 invaded Germany. He had no help from France, for

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Richelieu was then busy fighting the Huguenots. Sweden and England sent no assistance, and in the sequel Christian, who had come to the aid of Frederick, was badly beaten by Tilly and Wallenstein in North Germany. The subsequent Act of Restitution (1629) theoretically restored all Catholic properties pilfered since 1555, and left Protestant Germany subjugated except for Saxony and Brandenburg.

3. The Swedish period (1630-1632) found the 'Lion of the North,' Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632), driving down through Pomerania and Brandenburg to Bavaria. Though he seemed invincible, his wily foe, the adventurer Wallenstein, slowly drew a net around the Swedes and forced their commander into the fatal battle of Lützen in Saxony, where Gustavus lost his life. Wallenstein, drunk with victory, now plotted to capture the Bohemian crown, and his schemings with the enemy ultimately led to his own demotion and assassination.

4. The French period (1635-1648) found the soulless Richelieu ready to pounce upon the fatigued imperialists. The French took one fortress and mountain pass after another, severing the union of Spain and Austria. Then came the direct attack, a long campaign of cruel and stagnated warfare. All the German parties abandoned hope of a clear settlement by arms, and in 1648 peace was finally established through the Treaty of Westphalia.

5. The treaty saw France receive the powerful bishoprics of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, the fortress of Breisach, and the control of the vital Valtelline Pass. For the rest, the Empire reverted to the situation of 1618—a divided, weakened Germany, in which the German princes were left actually for-

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

eigners to one another. The independence of Switzerland, a fact since 1499, was officially recognized. Calvinism became equal to Lutheranism and Catholicism before the law. The terrible results of the conflict are seen in the destruction wrought on German life, morals, property, and economy. It took a full century for Germany to recover the population lost in that horrible war.

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- | | |
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CHAPTER XLV

Stuart England

TUDOR England has been treated under the caption of the religious revolution, where that term signified the bridge from the Renaissance to modern times. From 1485 to 1603 there was a story of national monarchy, concentration of wealth, search for fame and pleasure, and destruction of the old religion. The country meanwhile took on the insular character that fitted its geography. No longer possessing part of the Continent, it proceeded to build up its special powers and to prepare for a dominant rôle in future history.

The following eighty-five years brought the interlude of the Scottish sovereigns, the Stuarts. These four kings were all disliked by many English people, the former two for their divine-right attitude in government, the third for his careless lack of principle, and the last for almost everything, even for his good qualities. In the former century the rulers turned against and persecuted their subjects. Now in the seventeenth century the dominant groups of Englishmen protested against Stuart rule and enforced their protest by driving out their king and calling in another to do, not his, but their bidding. In the change there was a return to something like democracy. A none-too-vigorous foreign policy permitted peaceful economic development at home, particularly in commerce and company building. In America important foundations were begun in the territory between the

STUART ENGLAND

French and Spanish colonies. Ireland was brought more completely under English control. To the eastward the East India Company inaugurated a carrying trade and commodity monopoly that would lead to the greatest empire of all time.

The Scotch ruling family rejected any contact with the Calvinist Presbyterians, and took on themselves the maintenance of the Established Church. The Puritans were abhorrent to them for the disrespect shown to bishops, to ceremonies, and to governmental support and control of religion. They were more abhorrent because they came to constitute a majority of the national representatives, which, once in the saddle, proceeded to oust the reigning king and cut off his head. And their greatest blemish lay in their success as monied townsmen. They were the rising bourgeoisie. The Whig party which grew out of this class was never known for its attachment to Church or crown. On the other side, a rival party developed in opposition to this new brotherhood, and as the Cavaliers, or Tories, they strove to continue the conservative régime and to keep their important position as the land-holding gentry of the country. The basic struggle was not, then, religious. It was a fight for control between king and parliamentary majority.

This Stuart period is notable in history for its legal cases and its constitutional amendments. Very much of the English practice in courts of law and in Parliament dates from the trials and politics of the seventeenth century.

1. *The King's Minion* of Sabatini is built on a famous case of Coke, and portrays quite faithfully the royal life and char-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

acter of James I (1603-1625). His claim to the throne came through his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, who was descended directly from Margaret Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII. With Elizabeth the Tudor dynasty had come to an end, and the collateral line of Scotland was invited to the throne. James condoned his mother's execution. For that he was trusted by the Englishmen then important in politics. His is called a personal rule. Parliament was never to the Stuart liking, and James took particular delight in defending and practicing the theory of the divine right of kings. This idea—"A Deo rex, a rege lex"—was opposed by several famous contemporaries, notably by the Jesuit scholars Suarez and Bellarmine, the latter a saint and a doctor of the Church. The war of books brought out statements of the rights of the people, of the limits on royal power, that would become classic in the future striving toward democratic government. The royal claim to infallibility in the making and administering of laws took effect in harsh treatment of all nonconformist groups, two of which, the Pilgrim separatists and the Puritans, set up new homes on the shores of Massachusetts. Jamestown and Boston were established by joint-stock companies, with colonists hired or bound to cultivate the lands along these barren coasts. James authorized the edition of the King James Bible, thus leaving to posterity a memento of the pure English of his day and of doctrinal Protestantism.

2. Charles I (1625-1649) had and still has the respect of Englishmen, though his politics were thwarted by a too-powerful adversary. He followed his father in support of the Established Church and its remarkable archbishop Laud. He likewise fought his Parliament, refusing to accede to its demands in return for the taxes that he needed to carry on his

STUART ENGLAND

government. Though he approved the Petition of Right of 1628 and its chief article that no tax could be levied without the consent of the lords and Commons, he would not accept their dictation and he tried to go on enforcing his own personally imposed duties and imposts. A long struggle followed—the Civil War of 1641-1645—which resulted in his execution, the rise of the Commonwealth, the Long Parliament (1640-1660), and the rule of the lord protector, Oliver Cromwell.

3. Cromwell and his model army held their fierce puritanical sway over England and Ireland for eleven years. His foreign policy was the protection and promotion of English commerce abroad, and his Navigation Act of 1651 founded the merchant marine, so vital to the life of his country. Historians differ in estimating his place in history, though all agree in condemning his cruelty toward the Irishmen who opposed his fanatical persecution. The Restoration followed his death in 1658.

4. Charles II (1660-1685), invited to reclaim the throne of his honorable parent, saw to it that his ruling days would not be shortened by a quarrel with the now dominant townsmen and gentry. He was simply the 'Merrie Monarch,' slightly Stuart in his leaning toward the bishops. He signed the famous Habeas Corpus Act in 1657, a basic guarantee of individual liberty. His brother, the duke of York, became King James II in 1685 despite his Catholicism. A good army man, staunch in principle, James II misjudged his times in his efforts to secure toleration of Catholicism. For that he was execrated, and the Dutch William of Orange was offered the throne. The Bill of Rights (1689), signed by William and Mary on their taking regal power, made the king thence-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

forth to reign without ruling, the sceptered servant of the English oligarchy.

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CHAPTER XLVI

The Expansion of Europe

THE seventeenth century, with all its confused story of rebellions and political maneuvers, carries one clear thread of narrative in the colonizing efforts of the continental powers. In the years around 1500 the Spaniards and Portuguese discovered and charted the Americas and the East Indies. Thousands of energetic and zealous Iberians crossed the seas to set up in the New World a replica of their European civilization. They built great cities, important institutions of learning and of economic productivity, systems of control and of development for their native subjects. A New Spain and a New Portugal rested on solid foundations and gave promise of splendid progress.

For a hundred years the other nations struggled with internal difficulties, before they were ready to imitate the fore-runners and go out beyond the Atlantic to reproduce their home culture in the land of opportunity. After 1600 their time came. The Spanish day of continental leadership was gone. The imperial Habsburgs were humbled and weakened. France, England, and Holland now took front rank in sea commerce and transoceanic plantation.

They were well prepared for their adventure. France under Henry IV had become a united and growing national monarchy, and the ages of Richelieu and Louis XIV brought that country to a high point in European power. The Dutch released an immense energy on achieving independence.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Their wealth, commercial ability, military strength, and expansive ambition enabled them to build a permanent empire. England, with its victory over Spain, its internal reorganization, its national pride and courageous leadership, started slowly, but came in time to outstrip all competitors in the race for worldwide possessions. It is true that many of the colonizing groups—the Pilgrims, the Huguenots, the Catholic Maryland party, and others—represented private ventures. Government, particularly in England, neglected the early colonists. Many, too, of these colonists sought new homes because life was unhappy in their old locations. Yet this very fact made them tenacious fighters in their new environment and raised up in them a love for the new soil and a self-reliant aggressive spirit that in after years formed the basis for a wholly new style of democratic government.

This colonial expansion gave a completely new turn to European affairs. Great marts of foreign trade arose at the mouths of important rivers. Revenues poured into state treasuries. Monarchs came to possess realms whose broad expanse went far to develop a sense of national strength and would rather soon lead to international conflicts. New policies of government were devised to regulate the new domains and to supervise the impact of the overseas world on domestic life. New knowledge poured back into the homelands from the other side of the earth. A great awakening of minds derived directly from the projection of European interests into the Occident.

1. The Caribbean area first attracted the northern Europeans. Here the Spaniards had developed a rich agriculture

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

in the tropical products that were so much sought by Europe: spices, sassafras, sugar, dyes, and rare woods. The fecundity of life in the Indies and the charming climate drew the Huguenots and the Raleigh expeditions. Another type migrated with a sinister purpose—the pirates and buccaneers whose success was more noted than their worth as parents of the future colonials. Henry Morgan, the knighted governor of Jamaica, was one of these. But piracy died out under the counter-attack of Spain and the reformed morals of the northern state councils, and in its place came the first—and long the most valuable—colonies of England and France.

2. The Dutch East India Company opened the way to trade and colonies in the East and in Africa, and the West India Company did the same for North and South America. Their Pichilingues raided both coasts of Central America. For twenty-five years they held part of the coast of Brazil. In Guiana they retained permanent possessions. New Netherland was built up and held until its capture by the English in 1664, and it left a lasting heritage to the later New York. Danes and Swedes also founded colonies along the Atlantic coast of North America.

3. French Huguenots began short-lived ventures in Brazil and Florida. Guiana and the Caribbean islands saw permanent French colonies established, and a rich industry in tobacco, sugar, and buccaneer voyages. The French West India Company of 1664 controlled all French America. Acadia and the St. Lawrence Valley received a thoroughly French population and culture. The fur trade induced large company investments, while settlers and missionaries gave stability to the foundations. The notable era of Indian missions occurred dur-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ing the seventeenth century. Missions solidified the relations of the Frenchmen with the natives, and among the people back home in France they inspired investment in colonial ventures or in spiritual work. The Jesuit 'relations'—missionary letters and reports—were widely read and became an important historical collection. La Salle, Tonty, Cadillac, and Talon made great contributions to the expansion of the Canadian enterprise and prepared the way for the colonization of Louisiana. Frenchmen established contact with Spaniards in forbidden though historically important expeditions. The whole Mississippi Valley was explored to the Rocky Mountains. Towns and missions became the sites of future cities.

4. Englishmen early sought a way through the mainland of America under Thorne, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson. Others attacked the Spanish Main, while travel literature, plays, and broadsides incited the island nation to outdo the American success of the Spaniards. The flood of emigration after 1600 reflected various periods in English history: the commercial companies under the early Stuarts; refugee groups such as the Catholics, Puritans, and Parliamentarians under Charles I; new commercialism in the Restoration times. The expeditions began as private enterprises and later developed into crown colonies. Settlements were planted from Guiana to Hudson Bay, and trading posts were established in the Far East. Of the thirty-nine Atlantic colonies, thirteen became the later United States of America. A period of hardship and local success was followed by international rivalries that led to serious European warfare with the Dutch, the French, and the Spaniards. Mercantilism came to be the established policy after the Navigation Acts of Cromwell. In 1696 the Board of Trade was founded on the model

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

of the Spanish Casa de Contractacion of 1521. The mainland colonies expanded westward and in the process formed a new people.

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CHAPTER XLVII

The Age of Louis XIV

THE colonial expansion of France began in the reign of Henry IV. Under Richelieu it underwent a notable extension, but the greatest American effort of the French belongs to the Golden Age of Louis XIV (1643-1715). His personal rule covered fifty-five years, during which his country was pre-eminent in all the arts of peace and war. Throughout that period the Continent looked to Paris for its manners and its social and political code. Within the nation, the days of the Grand Monarch were graced by the careers of many remarkable figures in the most varied lines of human activity. The splendor of that reign has made his name come down to posterity as 'Le Roi Soleil.'

It is customary to find the causes of this splendid age in the king and his court. More truly they lay in the unity of the French people and the French culture, and in the motives behind their achievements. It was an age comparable to that of Isabella in Spain, when an astonishing burst of national enthusiasm came upon that race. Here too in France, the second half of the seventeenth century witnessed a sparkling effusion of mind and imagination. Grand dreams of wealth and commerce, of exploration and conquest, of transferring religion and civilization to distant barbarian territories aroused the French people. Internal peace, external glory, the call of the Western Hemisphere moved them to

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

action. Great abilities became suddenly manifest. It might be said that France came of age; and Europe furnished the stage for her action.

Much of this development is due to the education that had been current in France after 1556. The coming of the Jesuits and the special success of their academic efforts had a definite effect upon popular thought and expression. At first these newcomers were frowned upon by the conservative and established interests, particularly the University of Paris, and political and religious strife hampered their freedom. The wars of religion once passed, the new teachers were enabled to build up their endowments and their staffs, and they went on to win the highest repute for their instruction. In fact, they monopolized higher education by their excellence and the number and size of their institutions. They opened their doors to all young men who wished the opportunity, and their graduates became leaders of thought, art, and public life. In 1627 they had 13,195 students in the Paris province alone. The sons of St. John Baptist de la Salle, St. Philip Neri, and St. Vincent de Paul worked along similar lines, and France became the best educated country in Europe.

The culture of the seventeenth century will later receive special treatment. Here it is proper merely to point out the fact that this century compared favorably with the notable thirteenth in alertness of mind, in tremendous energy, and in constructive power. Those were the most vigorous days of modern history.

1. French ascendancy in this reign was aided by the troubled internal condition of England and by the conflict in Holland

HISTORY OF EUROPE

between republican Amsterdam and the House of Orange. So too it was abetted by the disunion in Germany, divided by the struggle of the princes to preserve their positions as against the emperor and of the Protestants to defend their legal rights. In France the mounting prestige of the throne had developed under Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin, and it now received the support of Colbert and a group of military lights—Vauban the fortress-builder, Louvois the organizer, the commanders Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Vendôme, and Boufflers. The age regarded the enlargement of a state by conquest as the chief mode of advancing its progress, and war was thought the proper business of kings. Richelieu had formed the first regular standing army, uniformed and properly equipped. Diplomacy now placed ambassadors in every important foreign court, all of them constantly instructed by dispatches whose most guarded passages were done in cipher. Doctrines of state practice proclaimed the principles of ‘proper’ ambitions, among which was the French demand for their ‘natural boundaries,’ especially for a frontier on the Rhine.

2. The queen-mother, Anne of Austria, acted as regent for Louis XIV until 1661, when at the age of twenty-two he personally assumed the reins of government. He was endowed by nature with a fine physique, a sound mind, a kindly but firm will. Much of his thought was formed by the learned bishop Bossuet (1627-1704), whom he employed as the instructor of his son and heir. Cautious in judgment, gifted with a fund of common sense, suave, dignified, elegant in manner and speech, he looked and acted like a king. He erred in personal conduct and his policies brought much sorrow to his people, but his magnificent final testament showed

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

that his ideals were noble and that he had a strong sense of his kingly obligations. Louis was convinced that a king should be sacred, as one ordained of God. He was bound to be the father of his people. In the exercise of his power he would be accountable to God alone, nor might any man on earth rightfully resist the royal command. The king was a public person, and in him was embodied the whole nation. Hence his dictum: "L'état, c'est moi!" He was his own prime minister. His assistants would merely execute his will.

3. Because of the energetic organizing and conduct of state affairs the French government was thoroughly orderly, and foreign monarchs envied the serene majesty of Louis XIV. The system of Richelieu remained at the service of this untiring royal workman. A stately palace arose at Versailles. There Louis gathered the court of France, and prescribed for them a rigid ceremonial, wherein all would pay homage to their king. He was a grand patron of art, as he was of the national economy that his talented Colbert (1619-1683) cherished. The days of Sully were re-enacted in official honesty and careful management of finance. Industry and commerce were stimulated. A first-rate navy was created and a vigorous foreign policy carried on. Science and art found public approbation and support.

4. Foreign policy rested on Louis XIV as the diplomat, on Colbert, his capable treasurer, and on Louvois, the minister of war with a redoubtable army. Long and skillful campaigns won Franche Comté, several important Belgian cities, Alsace, and the Rhine frontier. France supplanted Spain as the leader of Europe. A final war, that of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), placed a Bourbon on the throne of Spain, though it also decimated France and lost valuable colonies to Eng-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

land. A grievous load of debt and taxation accompanied these enterprises, and the following generations would pay heavily for battles such as Blenheim, of which little Peterkin asked: "But what good came of it at last?"

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CHAPTER XLVIII

Northeastern Europe in the Seventeenth Century

THE northern peoples of Europe, the Scandinavians, Prussians, Poles, and Russians, assumed political importance on the Continent in the sixteenth century. In the religious upheaval Denmark and Norway became a single kingdom. The Swedish monarchy was established in 1523 by Gustavus Vasa, who built a strong absolutism with the wealth and property confiscated by the Reformers. Prussia, originally conquered and organized by the Order of the Teutonic Knights between 1220 and 1283, became a secularized province in 1525 when the grand master of the order, Albert of Brandenburg, embraced Lutheranism and made the district into a hereditary duchy. Poland lived in union with Lithuania from 1386 to 1772. The old Jagello line expired in 1572, and the Hungarian, Stephen Batory, ascended the throne. Stephen was succeeded by three kings of the Swedish Vasa family, whose reigns were marked by continual strife with the northern neighbors.

Russia dates its long and complex record from the conversion of St. Vladimir to Christianity in the tenth century, and the civilization consequent upon that royal conversion. Slavs are first met in history in the Pripet Marsh region between the Vistula and the Dnieper headwaters. Thence as the Poles they went north to the former Germanic lands along the Baltic. Westward in the mountain region an offshoot became the Czechs. Southward another division

HISTORY OF EUROPE

formed the Serbs. Eastward the group was the Great Russians, with their earliest civilization centering about Novgorod. In 862 this Novgorod clan invited a Norse chieftain named Rurik to "come over and rule us." He came, and by 882 the Northmen had advanced their domination to Kiev the nucleus of their new state. In time they built a string of forts along the Volga and Dnieper rivers to guard the Varaangian route of commerce from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Mongols overran Russia in the thirteenth century and held the field until Ivan I, duke of Moscow (1462-1505), threw off their rule and created a new state between the Dnieper and the Don. Ivan II, the Terrible (1533-1584), extended his domination into Asia. The death of his son Feodor in 1598 ended the dynasty of Rurik, and in 1613 the Romanovs obtained the crown. From that year began the Muscovite contact with the West. Great numbers of physicians, architects, engineers, and military men were invited by the tsars, particularly Peter the Great (1689-1724), to help the people throw off their Asiatic stagnation and come within the circle of European civilization. Russia now became a part of Europe.

The rule of Poland and Sweden by kinsmen of the Vasa family precipitated a long period of warfare. The members of this family who ruled in Poland were Catholic, while those in Sweden were Protestant. Each party maintained its independence, but the rising power of the Swedish monarchs finally brought them to challenge Russia. In the sequel the tsar and the sultan of Turkey became factors to be reckoned with by the great western powers.

NORTHEASTERN EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1. Round the Gulf of Riga lay Courland, Livonia, and Estonia, at the northern end of the ancient Varangian route. Poland and Russia struggled for these provinces, and soon Sweden entered the fight. The occasion was furnished in 1587 when the Poles elected as their king Sigismund Vasa (III) of Sweden, a Catholic who hoped to restore his religion in his own country. His Protestant relatives struck against him in the long War of the Swedish Succession. It ended finally in the Peace of Oliva (1660) and the triumph of the dynasty of Charles IX. Meanwhile Gustavus Adolphus had made his unfortunate attempt in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. His successors, brilliant but too ambitious, tried, as has been said, to turn the Baltic into a Swedish lake. Their Polish war brought against them as allies Russia, Austria, Brandenburg, and Denmark. The death of their Charles Augustus in 1659 temporarily stopped their wild projects in the Peace of Oliva. Then Louis XIV inveigled them into a losing battle with Holland and Brandenburg. In a last brilliant failure their meteoric Charles XII encountered Russia, and at Pultova (1709) he saw his army destroyed and his nation reduced to a minor position in Europe. The greatness of Sweden passed, and the might of Russia dominated the North.
2. Polish John Casimir, renowned national hero, came into conflict with Russia over the Ukrainian Cossacks. Stephen Batory had converted to Christianity that compound of Russians, Poles, and Tartars which had lived under Polish protection since the fifteenth century. Their military organization had formed a strong barrier against the Turks. The Cossacks now rebelled against Poland and submitted to Russia, and Poland joined battle with the tsar. The war issued in the Peace of Moscow (1686). All Cossacks east of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the Dnieper went to Russia, those west of the river to the reigning Polish monarch, John Sobieski. The Turks had also intervened in this fight, and for a while they held a third of the Ukraine, until it was ceded to Russia in the treaty.

3. The crucial events in the Northeast followed the coming to the Russian throne of Peter the Great in 1689 and of Charles XII to that of Sweden in 1697. The conflict succeeding their elevations was the great Northern War (1700-1721), a struggle whose outcome fixed the political lines of northern and eastern Europe. Peter was a man of superior intelligence and strong will, and in spite of his fundamental barbarism he exerted an immense influence on his people. Bent on Europeanizing the culture of Russia, he likewise entered the political arena to obtain outlets on the Black and the Baltic seas for his landlocked nation. To educate himself he took a lengthy trip through western Europe, where he worked and associated with the men of Holland, Germany, and England. On his return he brought back with him foreign artisans, military officers, and an abundance of political wisdom. He organized his army on the western model and set out to wrest Livonia from the 'Meteor of the North.' Quick Swedish victory turned the head of Charles XII, and dismissing Russia he drove on southward to humiliate Poland. A five-year interval passed. Then Charles, misled by Marlborough into an invasion of Russia, pressed across the Ukraine. The Russians, a reorganized and sturdy army, met him east of the Dnieper at Pultova. Charles lost his army and fled into Turkish territory. The entire Baltic southern shore was taken over by Russia, Poland, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Denmark.

4. Under Suleiman II (1520-1566) the Ottoman Turks

NORTHEASTERN EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

reached their greatest power. Southeastern Europe was theirs as far as the Carpathian Mountains. Hungary was wiped out, and they marched to the gates of Vienna. On the Mediterranean they were similarly in command, until at Lepanto in 1571 the combined efforts of Spain and Venice dispersed their fleets. A final victory by Sobieski over the Turks at Vienna in 1683 ended their threats to the West, and in 1699 Austria regained Hungary and Transylvania, while Peter the Great took the port of Azov. The treaty of that year eliminated the Turks as a terror in Europe.

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CHAPTER XLIX

The Culture of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

CULTURE is generally used by historians to denote a way of living, and civilization is taken to mean a refinement of culture. In its aesthetic sense culture means a detachment from gross interests and tastes, and an appreciation and production of the nobler works of the human spirit. This culture implies art, the expression of the beautiful in sensible form. It implies, likewise, the enjoyment and prosecution of intellectual pursuits, whether in philosophy, science, history, or whatever concerns the universe in which men live. The culture of any epoch mirrors its civilization and shows us its dominant thoughts and aspirations.

In a certain sense the earlier age of the Renaissance did not die. The eagerness for self-expression, the inspired creation of new works in stone, color, and tone, the searching for new truth became a constant pursuit for specially gifted persons. Similarly the individualism, the critical spirit, the dogmatism, the polite cynicism of men like Erasmus did not notably decline. Indeed, the late nineteenth century might be called the apogee of that Humanist rebellion against the medieval absorption in the common weal and in revealed truth—a rebellion which adopted the principle of the survival of the fittest and placed a supreme reliance on individual mind.

There was a notable movement of culture after 1550, along lines that had not been worked intensively before that

THE CULTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

date. In particular, the classicism of the Humanists gave way to new impulses in the use of the national languages and in natural science, and several products of genius achieved immortality.

Here as in previous chapters one might point out the high moments of history that inspired the doers and the thinkers. It is nevertheless true that no man can account for genius, and the historian does not labor to offer causes for this outburst of talent in the new forms of artistic and intellectual output. Tracing the lineage of musicians, sculptors, and users of the brush and pen has a certain utility, but the biographies of these remarkable people show little of their inner inspiration, and the greatest of them should rather be called the children of all time than heirs of a particular tradition. Their works were sparks struck from the pure steel of human genius.

1. The noblest figure in music before 1700 was Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1524-1594). His "Mass for Pope Marcellus" was produced in 1565. He perfected harmony for the *a capella* choir. His art is simple, yet marked by the loftiest expression of spirituality. Through his disciples ecclesiastical music became the parent of the opera and the symphony. Opera first appeared in 1600, in the *Eurydice* of Peri and Rinuccini. The first oratorio, that of Cavaliere, was performed that same year in the Oratory in Rome. Henry Purcell (1658-1695), a master of organ composition, wrote the first English opera and oratorio. The end of the century saw the births of Bach and Handel, men who belong to a later school.

2. Architecture in this era abandoned the perpendicular in

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the passing of the Tudor Gothic, whose last notable structures arose in the time of Henry VIII. The Renaissance of classic lines died out after St. Peter's was completed in 1565. In place of these styles there arose the baroque in the grotesque and florid type of Versailles. A striking exception was the dome of St. Paul's in London, designed by Sir Christopher Wren.

3. Drama claimed the largest number of literary geniuses. In England Shakespeare (1564-1616) stood pre-eminent for his range, his depth, his mastery of play technique, his lyric and tragic emotion. Ben Jonson was his friend and rival. Marlowe, Greene, Beaumont, and Fletcher wrote in the same school. The Restoration drama reflected the decadent tastes of the day.

Spain produced Lope de Vega and Calderon, the former the author of over five hundred excellent plays. Calderon, whom Goethe placed on the plane of Shakespeare, portrayed the national character in a medium of brilliant comedy. In both there was the typically Spanish lightness of heart. The strength and purity of their style saved the national literature from the Gongorism, or affected language, that had a vogue in the days of the *hidalgo*.

Tragedy and comedy in France reached their peak in Racine and Molière. Racine was direct and sincere, simple, and universal in his appeal. Molière poked fun at the foibles of society in comedies which almost monopolized the French stage.

4. John Milton (1608-1674) wrote truly great poetry. His epic, *Paradise Lost*, taking for its theme the soul of man, scans in sublime measure the course of life on earth and in the next world. His odes and sonnets, especially the one *On*

THE CULTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

His Blindness, are among the classics of the English language.

Other writers of note there were in abundance, producing verse and prose in history, philosophy, and religion. Of them all, perhaps one should single out Cervantes for his *Don Quixote*, "a book of amusement, of satire, of wisdom, of pathos, a golden book."

5. Scientific discovery and exposition flourished in mathematics, physics, medicine, and philosophy. Descartes (1596-1650) achieved a profound importance for his analytic approach to scientific problems. He argued that reason, without recourse either to experience or to authority, is sufficient to deduce an absolutely certain and complete knowledge from the clear and simple truths which are innate in its own being and which it comprehends by a direct act of intuition. He improved algebra, contributed something to the theory of optics, and helped to form the modern abstract ideas of reason, science, progress, and civilization, which became the guiding stars of another age. Following in his wake, Leibnitz developed the powerful mathematics of the calculus.

After Copernicus had proved the heliocentric activity of the mundane universe, Kepler enunciated his famous laws of celestial physics, and Newton in 1687 produced his *Principia*, one of the great scientific books of all time. Meanwhile Boyle and Huygens laid down basic laws of pressures and light measurement, and Huygens discovered the pendulum. Gilbert, the Englishman, in 1600 wrote *On the Magnet*. Lipperheim invented the telescope and Galileo the microscope. In 1619 Harvey wrote on the circulation of the blood.

The Spanish Dominicans, the Jesuits, and the Council of Trent fathered a vigorous revival of Scholastic philosophy,

HISTORY OF EUROPE

wherein ethics and political theory were intensively cultivated. Vittoria, Bañez, Suarez, and Molina wrote important books, and the famous controversy *De Auxiliis* proved a stimulus to the study of the cooperation of God and man in all human acts.

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CHAPTER L

The Transformation of England in the Eighteenth Century

THE sixteenth century belonged to Spain. France took over the leading role after 1598, and in the era of Henry IV, Richelieu, and Louis XIV held the center of European interest. The last days of Louis XIV saw England moving toward her pre-eminent position in the present world.

It was a long and slow transition that elevated the island kingdom to this dominant place in modern history. Business energy and acumen gradually built up solid foundations in banking, industry, and a worldwide carrying trade. English soldiery after Cromwell grew steadily in power, until the generals, the infantry, and especially the fleet in the Nelson era controlled the highways of the globe. Colonies multiplied on various continents, both through emigration of English men and women and through the growth and expansion of the trading companies.

Perhaps the most significant change came in the realm of politics. From Tudor times to the accession of William and Mary, the régime fluctuated through all degrees of absolutism, and the Stuart unconcern for the traditional 'rights' of the people was the chief cause of the dynastic shift that substituted William of Orange for James II. In the Bill of Rights the new sovereign abdicated all divine-right claims, and accepted his powers on the condition of serving the pop-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ular will. The following century brought in the modern cabinet system of parliamentary rule, and gave several remarkable statesmen an opportunity to manage the affairs of the country. Meanwhile the lesson of the American secession from the British commonwealth produced a marked improvement in two vital phases of English government: the quality of the civil service and an intelligent outlook on the expansion of colonial life. Before the time of Lord North, it is said, the colonial secretaries did not even read the dispatches of their overseas subordinates. After the American Revolution had succeeded in detaching a large block from the British possessions, an internal revolution took place in the training and placing of all officials connected with both the Foreign Office and the colonial departments. As a result Britain has been credited with the most expert, effective, and loyal civil service in the world. To this revolution is traced an entirely fresh attitude, of far-sighted wisdom, of detailed and careful study, toward the problem of Canada and all succeeding colonial complications.

In social manners and in literary and scientific expression the country moved away from Restoration laxity into a deist spirit, externally more correct than its careless predecessor though in principle quite inferior. The revival called Methodism (1734) was a protest against both philosophies. The Methodists, however, scored their greatest successes in a locale far away from the England of Blackstone and the elder Pitt. The men who came to set the fashion of the age, despite the earnestness of the Wesleys, were the rich land-owners and the so-called middle class, the industrialists and

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

the tradesmen who remade the commonwealth into the business State that would master all other nations and dictate the policies of most of the world.

1. The Restoration of 1660 was really a restoration of the royalist nobles and squires who for the next two centuries were to have the deciding voice in British policies. Agriculturists, Anglicans, constitutionalists, these men turned out James II and managed the new royalty. Their Bill of Rights of 1689 decreed that henceforth the sovereign must be an Anglican. It denied to the ruler any power of suspending or dispensing from the laws and of maintaining an army. It asserted that free elections, free speech, and parliamentary procedure could not be interfered with, and demanded impartial juries and free parliaments. And William and Mary signed the document. These aristocrats promoted their own economic interests, and earned a reputation for patriotic and popular rule. Their split into Whigs and Tories—in 1679 on the Exclusion Bill—enabled them to criticize a part of their party for failure without condemning aristocracy as a whole. These two groups, by the way, differed in little beyond their separate organizations as office-holders. It was they who invited three successive sovereigns to the throne—William and Mary, Anne, and George I—and they thus became the masters of their kings.

2. William III chose his ministers from the majority group of the House of Commons. This ministerial gathering came to be called the Cabinet, or ruling body, and it acquired great and enduring fame. Under William their word was law for king and country, and they were dismissed only when new elections returned a majority for the opposition. When the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Hanoverians, or Georges, took the throne, with little or no ability to use the language and understand the feelings of the English people, the Cabinet moved into permanent possession of sovereign control. Robert Walpole, the 'prime' minister in power and importance from 1721 to 1742, founded that office. George III (1760-1820) tried to regain regal domination, and in the effort lost his American colonies. The rule of the two great Pitts, father and son, gave to Parliament its definite tradition of omnipotence in England.

3. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) saw Marlborough, Clive, and Wolfe win great names and great provinces. Gibraltar, Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia were acquired in 1713. The battles of Plassey (1757) and Quebec (1759) gained India and Canada. The victories of the great coalitions broke Napoleon and reduced France to an inferior place on the Continent.

4. The thirteen American colonies fought for eight years to vindicate their Declaration of Independence (1776). This secession was due quite as much to the three thousand miles of ocean as to the unwise or unfair rulings of Parliament or king. Nevertheless the blow to British pride brought an excellent result in a wholly new policy of honest, efficient, and understanding treatment of colonies.

5. Britain struck roots in a new continent when Captain Cook discovered Australia in 1770. Quickly his government exploited this and other recent finds. New South Wales was founded in 1786 and Tasmania in 1803. Other Pacific islands were colonized, and the western coast of Canada—reached both by ocean and by land expeditions—came into the im-

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

perial sphere. Though England lost the United States, by the end of the century she was pushing ahead in Canada, the West Indies, South Africa, and the Far East. Her navy had become the most powerful in the world, and an excellent adjunct of her growing commercial supremacy. London replaced Amsterdam as the banking center of the world. English merchants grew wealthy. A rapid rise in the demand for farm produce brought on an agricultural revolution, whose great crusader, Arthur Young, showed the way for capitalism to legislate 'corn laws' and 'enclosure laws.' Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* pointed the path to future wealth. Europe was astonished at the riches and influence of the English gentry.

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CHAPTER LI

The End of the Old Régime; Eighteenth-Century Society

THE last years of the eighteenth century saw a profound change come over the world. The comparatively stable society that had endured since the end of the Middle Ages was upset by a widespread revolutionary movement. The old ways of living—the feudal type of social organization, the absolutism of monarchs, the established systems of religion and education, the managed economies, the rivalries of ruling families, even the general feeling of unity among European peoples—all these old ways suffered severe shock and many of them were cast off permanently. In place of the ancient régime a spirit of revolutionary change took hold of the world. Men began to seek the abstract ideal of progress, or reason, or science, instead of the individual and concrete ideal of temporal happiness and eternal beatitude. The change involved immense damage to life and institutions, yet its champions accepted these losses in their prophetic hope of compensating gains for all mankind.

Probably the clearest difference between the times before and after this important revolution is the fact that before 1789 the kings ruled their *people, towns, and counties*, while after that date governments ruled *nations*. The French Revolution definitely fixed the modern idea of the nation as the special unit of life which has its particular character, civiliza-

THE END OF THE OLD REGIME; EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

tion, progress, and destiny. There have always been nationalities—fixed groups of people living in a particular geographic sector, with a common historical tradition, common interests and ambitions and fears, a sense of relationship to one another, usually a common language and a common government. But the revolutionary period developed nationalism—an overwhelming pride in one's own nation; a belief in its superiority to all others, in its right to dominate all others in some way; and always the idea that the government is the nation and that all individuals are absorbed in the thing called the State. Instead of the sovereigns' serving the individual citizens, now the citizens must live their lives entirely for the aggrandizement of the State.

In times before 1789 an international spirit was much more evident than this national and exclusive attitude. There was then a quite usual exchange of friendship and assistance between numbers of different nations. Religion cut across the state borders and bound large numbers in separated countries by strong and durable ties. Science had a similar influence, and men from Rome or London were welcomed in Parisian or Philadelphian scientific circles and discussions. Even during the Seven Years' War it was not unusual to see an English admiral or general on vacation in Normandy or the Riviera. In Protestant circles Freemasonry likewise contributed to the international union of brotherhood. After 1800 this spirit was ended.

To understand this basic modification of the world (for its results were felt from Paris to the farthest corners of Asia and America), it is necessary to study the social life of the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

times, the ruling powers, and the advocates of the new régime. These three factors will explain the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789-1799) and give a key to many problems of the present day.

1. The classic picture of eighteenth-century society in France is found in the epochal work of Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*. Society in that day was clearly divided into three classes: the upper, made up of nobles and clergy; the bourgeoisie; and the lower class.
2. Most of the upper class were critical of their times, yet few wished to make the needed alterations. All were privileged characters. Of old they had merited these privileges—exemption from taxes, honorable rank, special courts—which a grateful people allowed them as their due. Now, especially in France (thanks to Richelieu) the nobles did no work and paid no tax, yet they collected huge feudal payments from their vassals. The clergy in the higher brackets were frequently absentee rulers, forced to live at court, devoid of personal and moral leadership among their people. The king in France was a “golden peacock in a golden aviary.” He kept his court in wealth amid the obsequious attendance of his nobles. He symbolized sovereignty and maintained the law. But he saw little of his people, and their wants and complaints found him either uninterested, as in the case of Louis XV, who said: “Let things go on as they are; after me will come the deluge”; or, like Louis XVI, unable to solve the serious problems of the treasury or to relieve the distress of his subjects.
3. Many of the middle class or bourgeoisie in France had become irreligious. The Gallicans, or antipapal regalists, and

THE END OF THE OLD REGIME; EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

the puritanical Jansenists left as a heritage a cold attitude toward religion that was reflected in the views of the merchants and professional men who carried on the upper division of economic life. These bourgeoisie, denied the nobles' privileges in tax and court exemption, slowly became critical of the régime, and when they saw national bankruptcy threatening, and themselves the likely victims of the panaceas of economic salvation, they determined to take things into their own hands. They yearned for a voice, and a place, in the government of their country. Their own businesses were indeed successful, and thus they were able to spend long hours in the clubs and salons where the typical drawing-room society found its admired leaders in the wittiest and sharpest critics of the upper classes.

4. The lower clergy, the peasants, and the city mob completed the picture. The parochial clergy, the teachers, and those living in small monasteries were good and strong men. They were loved by the people, sympathetic with the cause of the poor, energetic, often critical of such official mistakes as the suppression of the Jesuits in 1762, an act that closed hundreds of schools and colleges and deprived the country of a body of earnest and able clerics.

The peasants were thrifty, laborious, and upright. Though prosperous, they were galled by the feudal taxes, dues, and privileges, such as the right of a noble to hunt game on the serf's land, no matter how much stag and hounds pounded down the wheat, corn, or grapes. In their just anger they were ready to burn the chateaux and tear up the titles and charters that bound them to their lords.

The city mob, particularly in Paris, suffered badly from unemployment in the 1780's, and a famine in 1788 brought

HISTORY OF EUROPE

them great grief. Poor, impatient of waiting longer for relief, unlettered and easily led to violence, in crises raging and destructive, they became pitiful instruments of the Terror. True to type, they gained nothing in the Revolution.

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CHAPTER LII

The Enlightened Despots

SOCIETY in the eighteenth century was both active and critical. Tremendous changes in agriculture and industry, while arousing little comment, nevertheless resulted in a shifting of wealth and power into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Government, meanwhile, remained in the static control of the absolute monarchs. A tension arose between these two factors, marked at first by biting criticism, and finally by revolution. It is worth while to survey the type of king whose power was questioned.

The rulers in the century before the French Revolution are usually called the 'enlightened despots.' Their enlightenment consisted in a kindly concern for the happiness of their subjects. In England and France this ordinarily meant a policy of mercantilism, increasing exports, decreasing imports, exclusive control of national trade, and a fostering of strong, prosperous states. In Germany the spirit was called 'cameralism.' There the rulers aimed at strength and prosperity for the land by solidifying their personal rule, by increasing military power, and by handing down reforms of law that benefitted their people. They tried to abolish the restrictions that hampered the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, to unify legal systems, to remove judicial abuses, to promote education, to emancipate the serfs, and to encourage economic development.

Their enlightenment also involved a share in the new

HISTORY OF EUROPE

outlook of the *philosophes*, which will be described in the next chapter. A cardinal point with this class was the uselessness of religion in their plans for a new civilization, and they led the despots to demand a general restriction of the Church in their dominions. This attitude of the *Aufklärung* was largely due to the schemes of the secret societies which flourished in that century. They planned and executed a well-disguised attack on the religious foundations of Europe. The Declaration of Gallican Liberties in 1682 had a great deal to do with the trend in question, and the writings of Febronius in Germany helped to effect the limitation of spiritual teaching and authority.

The clever *philosophes* found themselves well received in the shallow drawing-room society of the age, where their neat conversations and proposals for tinkering with government met ready applause. Equally shallow regal heads bent to listen to the scarcely profound suggestions of men such as Voltaire and Diderot. These benevolent despots did not make a business of government. With them it was an avocation. Their predominant interests were amusement, entertainment, and pleasure, and they did not notice the subtle yet powerful undercurrent of resentment and vexation that was mounting with volcanic force. At Potsdam Frederick the Great played host to the Sage of Ferney, and between functions the latter sent out orders and plans that involved the destruction of the very foundations on which the rule of Frederick was built.

Probably the most serious charge against these benevolent despots was the wide contrast between the best talent and



THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

loyalty of their subjects and their own official conduct. Their companions were courtiers, their officers nobles, their informers flatterers. In this situation they could not, and did not, stand face to face with the serious problems of their day. When they did go into battle, it was to gain greater renown and broader possessions for the royal family and the throne. Rulers of this type made easy the work of the critical pen.

1. Frederick the Great (1740-1786) of Prussia was a typical benevolent despot. One thing he could do well—discipline and direct a powerful army. Yet his conquests left a sorry memory. He fought on like a madman until his forces were reduced to a tenth of their initial strength, and had it not been for Russian weariness his soldiers and his kingdom would have been erased from the face of the earth. A Hohenzollern, his family had come from the Swiss Alps. In the twelfth century a progenitor by marriage became the margrave of Nuremberg in Bavaria. In 1415 they were made electors of Brandenburg by the emperor. They accepted Lutheranism during the religious revolt. Fortune favored them in the Thirty Years' War, when through marriages the family received Cleves and East Prussia. In their continued rise to importance Frederick played a sizable part. He took away Silesia in 1745 from Maria Theresa. He seized, then returned, Saxony. In the three partitions of Poland he annexed large sections of that miserable land. And when the Bourbons had the Jesuits suppressed, Frederick cannily held them to their work in the schools and colleges of Prussia.

2. In Russia Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Catherine II (1762-1796) followed paths similar to that of Frederick. They took much of Poland and won a 'south window' on the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Black Sea from the Turks. Despotism was a byword during their régime, though enlightenment made their country a partial reflection of the civilization of the West.

3. The career of the Georges in England ran parallel to that of their continental colleagues. Fortunate for them the loss of the American colonies and the shock of the French Revolution aroused their transformed nation to a vigorous life. In the Holy Roman Empire the empress, Maria Theresa (1740-1780), had considerable ability and a high sense of her duty of maintaining the unity and happiness of her people. Defeated in battle, she surrendered large provinces to Frederick. Her son Joseph II (1780-1790) was a cynical sceptic, condemning what he could not understand, yet strangely interested in royal attempts at social and legal reform.

4. In Spain the succession of Charles III and Charles IV explains the disaster that befell the nation after 1800. The former has been called 'the King of good intentions.' The latter exhibited more than his share of Bourbon weaknesses. Both involved their country in frequent foreign wars, and when Charles IV allied himself to the French revolutionaries he split his people and his empire on a fundamental issue. In America the two granted greater freedom for colonial trade, but colonial bureaucracy was unwieldy and the officials often gave way to dishonesty. The brusque hand of Napoleon in the Treaty of San Ildefonso pointedly marked the contrast between these Bourbons and the first Charles who had formed the Spanish Empire.

5. France was ruled from 1715 to 1793 by two kings, Louis XV and Louis XVI. Both were absolutists, and there the similarity ends. The former was the embodiment of royal fu-

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

tility. The latter was a sincere and benevolent character, but the extravagance of his wife hurt his good name with his people and her peevishness impeded his choice of worthwhile ministers. He inherited the terrific storm that had been gathering under his predecessor, and he went down in its fury. It is now time to consider the makers of that human hurricane called the French Revolution.

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CHAPTER LIII

Champions of Change

THE French Revolution was not a gradual and necessary evolution. It was planned, and the plans were carried out. To tear down society is, unfortunately for mankind, easier than to rebuild it. Revolutions get out of hand, and after a riotous course they come to an abrupt ending in the rise of the military dictator. The grandiose schemes of the reformers are rarely effectuated by the sword, and the French effort of 1789-1799 was no exception to that rule. Most benefits of the movement were obtained before the great destruction began. After 1792 France was a shambles until the country was rescued by Napoleon Bonaparte.

The eighteenth century produced a swarm of wishful prophets whose self-appointed task alternated between bemoaning the past and planning the future. They were heirs of Descartes, and of his belief that good common sense was alone required for designing and directing a commonwealth. A multitude of such dogmas crowded Christian belief out of their minds and made them crusaders for the new abstractions called civilization, reason, and science. Supremely confident of their ability to reorder all life—and that without a struggle or with very little argument—they swore an oath not to lay down their pens until the deed was done. Men of the stripe of Diderot and Voltaire cherished hatreds that were deep and sharp. Partly because of this, and partly be-

CHAMPIONS OF CHANGE

cause of their inheritance from Descartes, the movement was unintellectual and was marked by extreme emotion, emerging now in the callow romanticism of Rousseau, now in the fateful vow of the Encyclopedists, now in a cynical scepticism that was more corrosive of sound thinking than either the romanticism or the vow.

Excellent material lay ready to hand for these reformers. In the first place, the recent discoveries in physical and natural science furnished interesting matter for the writings, conversations, and debates that flattered the minds of the current social leaders. Locke and Hume, Newton, Buffon, Montesquieu, Priestley, Lavoisier, and Linnaeus became the guides of the parlor savants. And, in the second place, the populace was getting its guidance from the drawing-rooms of the bourgeoisie. The idol of all was the sparkling figure in the salon, whether it happened to be Madame Roland or Benjamin Franklin. The clever critic, the master of repartee, the traveler, the amateur investigator in history or botany—these passed for scholars in the days after Louis XIV. Fine manners, ready wit, a slightly risqué tongue entitled one to claim attention in the social forum. The pundits ruled the public mind. The parlor was the ground for public discussion.

i. The leaders were the *philosophes*. They comprised two classes: some challenged the old régime and others planned the new—the Destroyers and the Builders. The latter were the prophets of a better humanity. The former represented the dissatisfied, sometimes the vengeful, and their front organization was the Encyclopedist circle. In letters they descended from the *Dictionnaire* of Bayle (1697), the father of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

modern religious scepticism. Their master figure was Voltaire (1694-1778), the literary arbiter of Europe in that Age of Enlightenment, and, according to Brunetière, "the greatest second-class figure in French literature."

2. In 1746 the publishers of the English Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* projected a French edition. The plan was taken up by a group under the direction of Diderot, who aimed to make the work "an engine of destruction." After 1753 the moving force back of this scheme was François Marie Arouet, or Voltaire. To root out the enemies of their 'liberties' they determined to abolish in turn the Jesuits, the Church, and finally the crown. Under cover of science they sowed the seeds of sceptical and deistic thought. Driven from France, these Encyclopedists moved their press to Geneva, whence they issued the successive volumes that took French parlor society by storm. Voltaire himself took command of the national reading and conversation. His associates, Diderot, D'Alembert, D'Holbach, and Rousseau, worked with him and won over to their plans men of the type of Edward Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was made a part of their machinery.

3. The Builders, men like Condorcet, the scientist and sculptor, and—after he broke from the Destroyers—Rousseau (1712-1778), proposed the "perfect" civilization of the future. Cartesians, they devised the design for life from their own "good common sense." Rousseau has been called a maladjusted person. He was everything that he should not have been: a persistent failure, immoral, dishonest, discontented, chronically demented.

The influence of Rousseau on the modern mind has been immense. Though not a politician, he nevertheless made use

CHAMPIONS OF CHANGE

of the popular discontent stirred up by his associates to plant the roots of revolutionary thought. In the middle-eighteenth century a feeling of kindness toward all humanity swept over Europe. Into this romantic yet critical public Rousseau sent his radical ideas. All men are equal before they enter society. They enter it of their own free will. That will is the only limit on their actions, and hence the popular will is the only source of law as well as the sole authority of the sovereign. Being kindly and wise, men can at will construct the perfect government. His *Social Contract* sketched the utopian condition of "natural man"—everyone free and equal in a society where there would be no wars, no taxes, no laws, no deceiving philosophers like the Encyclopedists. The captivating novelty of his writings took hold of the French mind. He was the architect of the Revolution.

4. The success of these two groups was assisted by the contemporary rise and spread of Freemasonry. In 1717 the London lodge began its formal existence. By 1798 there were sixteen hundred subordinate lodges in England and many more in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, and America. These secret clubs formed an organization to diffuse the new doctrines and to give a backbone to the revolutionary movement. Originally founded to perpetuate the British imperial culture, Masonry in the Latin countries lent itself chiefly to the Encyclopedist strategy. A parallel society arose in the Germanies, the *Illuminati*, or superior beings, secret, deist, sceptical, and intent upon ending the old régime. From one standpoint this spirit brought relief from former bitterness and persecution, for it encouraged a kind of toleration toward divergent religious bodies. Only one was excepted. "Écrasez l'infâme!" the Voltairean battle-cry, resounded through the French

HISTORY OF EUROPE

clubs. The idea of freedom from all authority swept the nations. In the name of liberty, indeed, some betterment ensued, and many crimes. Not the least of these came under the cloak of freedom in business, the *laissez faire* of Adam Smith. As one said: "The building was rotting from cellar to garret, and the whole thing had to be torn down and rebuilt."

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- | | |
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CHAPTER LIV

What Was the French Revolution?

THE French Revolution has been a subject of unending dispute. Taine and Aulard, Burke and Morley, Gaxotte and Gottschalk represent the conflicting sides of opposing and approving writers. Belloc in his youth wrote that its theory "is universal, it is eternal, it is true." De Tocqueville called it "infidelity working out in revolution." National feeling and partisanship color much of the story. Of late the political and economic factors of the upheaval have received intense study. Perhaps the work of Madelin is of all the most fair and judicious.

The Revolution was a violent overturn of existing conditions in France between 1789 and 1799. After the latter date the national destiny was in the hands of Napoleon. Some say that the Revolution has not ended. It may be more correct to point out that its opposing forces long remained at odds, and that the revolutionary spirit stays on as a vital influence in France and in the worldwide theater to which the French effort spread. Some feel that it crystallized the enjoyment of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," a motto which it borrowed from contemporary Masonry. Others call it the logical result of the religious revolution in its denial of authority and its undue exaltation of the individual. All grant that it gave but a temporary check to the theory of the absolute right of kings, for both its immediate successors on the throne and its later republican heirs were equally emphatic in their no-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

tion of the authority of the State. It did produce the revolutionary spirit, and the idea and model for subsequent revolutions which created many democratic states on the Continent and in Hispanic America. The rise of Belgium, Sweden, Italy, and Germany as independent states may well be traced to the Revolution.

Equally important has been its influence on modern thought. During those years arose the universal claim to equality—to equality of opportunity, of wealth, of rights—in every matter of life. The idea, too, of the *nation* dates from 1789, as also the fraternal feeling of national citizens.

In America the United States is sometimes said to have sprung from revolution. Such a position is untenable. There was no overturn of society. The movement was a change of sovereigns, vindicated by arms, but otherwise one can find little that was revolutionary, whether in law, politics, business, the holding of property, religion, education, or social conditions. Nevertheless the success of the American Revolution gave an example to the French people, and inspired them in their effort to overthrow the old régime. There was, however, no kinship between the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The latter rested for its argument not on experience, tradition, or tested principles of government, but on the reasonings of 'enlightenment' philosophers. In America the transfer of rulers came with little social strife. In France the conflict was bitter, and left lasting resentments, a divided people, a shattered economy, and a homeless proletariat. By force and violence "the outs became the ins," and only sheer

WHAT WAS THE FRENCH REVOLUTION?

exhaustion and a conqueror put a stop to the unhappy turmoil.

1. The apparent reason for the outbreak of revolution was national bankruptcy. The actual cause was the dissatisfaction everywhere felt—and often drummed up by agitators—and the planned stroke of rebellion. The people were not bankrupt. They were generally prosperous in the 1780's. It was the government that could not meet its obligations. This status of default dated from the time of Louis XIV and his wars. Its expansion was somewhat due to the follies of John Law, more so to the extravagance of Louis XV, partly to aid given to the American Revolution, and finally to the refusal of government and court to pare the budget in the reign of Louis XVI. The root solution offered was abandonment of privileges by the nobles and the higher clergy. Hopeless of such a solution and stirred by the rising complaints of the provinces, the king called a momentous session of the Estates General. This body had not met since 1614, but in the meantime the Third Estate had grown wealthy and self-confident. Louis XVI wanted advice and deliberation. What he got was a movement that he could not control. The Estates brushed the king aside and declared themselves the rulers of the nation.

2. The Three Estates—clergy, nobles, and commoners—formally opened their sessions at Versailles on May 5, 1789. In verifying their credentials the Third Estate refused to poll their membership before agreeing on the method of voting on business. They wanted all three houses to vote as one. Abbé Sieyès had written a memorable pamphlet for them. "The Third Estate—What is it? Everything! What has it been? Nothing! What does it ask? To be something!" The

HISTORY OF EUROPE

king was taken by surprise and found himself without a vigorous policy to meet the situation. Hesitating, he was lost. There were three hundred clergy, three hundred nobles, six hundred commoners. In the delay three of the clergy joined the commoners on June 13. By the sixteenth nineteen had joined, and a few nobles were with them. On the seventeenth the Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly and proceeded to business. Its first bill stated that no tax could be levied without its consent. On June 20 came the famous Oath of the Tennis Court. Prevented from meeting in their usual location, the Hotel des Menus Plaisirs, they adjourned to the nearby tennis court, and voted not to separate until they had given France a constitution. That was the Revolution.

3. On June 23 the king ordered each Estate to vote separately. After his speech the commoners remained in the hall and refused to disband. Louis XVI, not wishing bloodshed, waited for four days. At last on June 27 he gave in, ordering all three to join into one and form the National Assembly. Meantime mercenary Swiss and German troops gathered about Versailles to support the king in any emergency. Paris rose and in fury stormed the Bastille on July 14. The Paris Commune, the electoral group used in choosing the Estates General, took control of Paris and formed a militia, which under Lafayette became the National Guard. On October 6 a mob of Parisian women marched to Versailles, and after a riotous mêlée forced the king to go back with them to Paris. The National Assembly accompanied them. Louis XVI took up his residence in the Tuilleries. The Assembly met in the neighboring Salle du Manège, there to draw up the national constitution.

WHAT WAS THE FRENCH REVOLUTION?

4. The summer of 1789 saw the collapse of government in France. Peasants everywhere rebelled against their lords, burning chateaux and charters. Intendants and governors quit their posts. Taxation stopped. Panic seized business as prices rose and money went into hoarding. The clubs and the lodges came out into the open and began to dominate the politicians. Life became insecure and revolution mounted. Paris was particularly aroused. Thither thousands of vagabonds gathered to share in the public relief, passed out by the government after the harvest failure. Wealthy citizens, feeling that the crown could not pay its debts, joined the forces of upheaval. The Duke of Orleans made his palace a center of intrigue. General dismay followed the motion made in the Assembly by Lafayette, that the nobles give up all their rights and privileges, and public finance, land values, and property titles tottered as in a hurricane.

5. The Constitution of 1791 was completed by the National Assembly on September 30. A self-denying ordinance forbade the members to seek election in the new Legislative Assembly, which began to sit on October 1, 1791. The Constitution provided for a liberal monarchy, one legislative house, and the suspensive veto for the king. It included the Declaration of the Rights of Man, declaring for equality, a free press, fair trial, and liberty of religion. On the voluntary motion of the nobles feudalism had been abolished. To get money, monasteries and religious orders were suppressed and their property was confiscated as security for the new *assignats*. For the same purpose all church property was taken over by the State. The Church was directly attacked in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, whereby the bishops were to be elected by the new eighty-three departments, and these

HISTORY OF EUROPE

in turn were to ordain the priests who should be elected to their parishes by the cantons. This was a false step. It was condemned by Pius VI, and raised up a deadly enmity between the Revolution and Christianity.

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CHAPTER LV

The Radical Phase of the Revolution

THE Constitution of 1791 provided France with a liberal monarchy. Feudalism was abolished at one stroke, and a legal equality was assured to all citizens. The suppression of the religious orders and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, taken together, drove a wedge between Christianity and the Revolution. The burning of the feudal chateaux and the breakdown of government gave an emotional turn to the movement from the start. The religious stress heightened passion as priests and leading laymen were confronted with the oath to support the Civil Constitution. Threat of foreign intervention quickened the tempo of domestic feeling. Finally, many elements sought a far more radical reform of society than the first Constitution provided. The upshot of it all was fierce partisanship in the Legislative Assembly that took over the rule of the country in October of 1791. It was hard for any Frenchmen to be neutral. All seemed to be for or against the revolt.

Had the king felt assured of loyalty in the army, he might have taken a strong position against this dangerous spirit. But the army was honeycombed with members of the lodges pledged to the Encyclopedist program, and they took their orders from hidden though powerful leadership. The nobles, even the military officers, had no tradition of hard work and decisive action. The royal councillors were divided. A wide-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

spread feeling of love for humanity prevented suppressive measures, and the king was left practically alone to stem the rushing flood of events. Mirabeau, the one man who could have saved the king, had died prematurely in April of 1791. In such a plight Louis XVI, his queen and children, attempted to flee in the following June, only to be intercepted at Varennes and brought back prisoners to Paris.

Outside France the émigrés stirred up sympathy and support. In Cologne the brother of Louis raised an armed force. England heard Edmund Burke rallying the country against the Revolution. Then in August of 1791 came the Declaration of Pillnitz, proposing to restore the French monarchy in the common interest of the sovereigns of Europe. An army of eighty thousand formed on the eastern borders. During 1791 and 1792 riots broke out in Vendée against the new order in religion and the whole radical program. In reply to the Austro-Prussian threat the Assembly declared war on April 20, 1792, and the "Marseillaise" was first heard as volunteers gathered from all sides to join the army. The storm came to a head on July 25, 1792, in the declaration of the Duke of Brunswick. He ordered the French government to restore their king or be considered traitors and expect their proper fate. The combined armies of Prussia and Austria moved into eastern France.

The answer to this piece of folly was the insurrection in Paris on August 9-10 and the end of the Legislative Assembly. At once a new National Convention was chosen. They would suspend and try the king, prosecute the foreign war, and in the phrase of Danton "terrify the royalists" into sub-

THE RADICAL PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION

mission. They would then "carry the Revolution to the world."

1. Paris ruled the Revolution. The urban proletariat, in distress and under the sway of fierce propagandists, served as a lash which the city leaders held over the Assembly and the Convention. The lodges, the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the Masonic groups debated and decided the legislative measures. Outstanding among the demagogues were Marat, the editor of the *Ami du Peuple*; Danton the statesman, cruel yet with none of the radical character of Marat; and Robespierre, the silk-stockings dreamer with a cold green eye and a temper of steel. All three were prevented by the self-denying ordinance from entering the Legislative Assembly, but they took turns in dominating the Convention. In the National Assembly the Girondists, Brissot, Condorcet, and Dumouriez had led the Left. Now in the Convention they found themselves on the Right. The middle ground was held by the 'Plain.' High on the left was the 'Mountain' with the men of the clubs, the strong men, the makers of the Terror, and in their midst was Danton.

2. From August 10 to September 20, 1792 France was in anarchy. The allies advanced across the frontier, and Lafayette went over to them, leaving Dumouriez in command of the army. Danton was a virtual dictator, infusing new life into the military, terrorizing domestic and foreign foes. He led a wholesale massacre of royalists and clergy. Then on September 20 news arrived of victory at Valmy. On that day the Convention, opening its sessions, decreed that "royalty is abolished in France." Significant was their resolution that the Year I of the Republic would begin on September

HISTORY OF EUROPE

22, 1792. They utterly rejected the institutions of the past and possessed an unbounded confidence in their power to construct society all over again.

3. The Convention sat for three years, trying to form a constitution and to meet the opposition that arose on every side. Their armies gained a series of victories over the enemy powers, thus insuring the permanence of the constructive reforms enacted in 1791. The internal problem was more than they could surmount. Endeavoring to set up a republic based on Rousseauian theory, they encountered domestic insurrection and, most of all, fierce party politics. The king was condemned, and on January 21, 1793 he was beheaded as Citizen Capet. Civil war broke out in Vendée. Dumouriez, disgusted with the dictatorship and its excesses, deserted to the Austrians. The First Coalition was formed against France, involving England, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, Austria, and Prussia. To stop them Carnot led a frenzied force of 770,000 men, "the nation in arms," and the country was cleared of foreign soldiers. The Convention conducted an equally fanatical and thorough campaign against those who opposed it within the country. Through a Committee of Public Safety the Terror was enacted in 1793-1794. The guillotine became the instrument of revolution, and thousands perished in Paris and the provinces. In the course of this violence one leader after another fell a victim. The cult of reason was established, with a street girl enthroned as the goddess in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Socialist experiments were enacted. Then in Thermidor (July) of 1794 Robespierre and Saint-Just were overthrown, and a moderate but impotent constitution (of the Year III) was drawn up. In the midst of further reprisals and anarchy the dragoons

THE RADICAL PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION

and artillery were called upon to face the chronically raging Paris mob, and the period ended in October of 1795 with a "whiff of grapeshot," fired at the command of a young officer named Napoleon Bonaparte.

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CHAPTER LVI

The Modern Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte

IN ITS radical phase the Revolution ran amuck. The period from 1789 to 1791 had seen feudalism abolished and the inequalities of the old system overthrown. Limited monarchy relied on the Constitution to preserve these gains. The Constitution, however, failed under a triple stress. The legislators and executives had no administrative experience. Threat of war and of foreign help to the king demanded all the energies of an inept government. Internal rebellion brought further trial. The combination of these difficulties caused the downfall of the Assembly and the formation of the National Convention.

This Convention speedily did away with the Constitution of 1791, and aimed to fashion a new one along the lines indicated by Condorcet and Rousseau. Balked by dangers on all sides, they threw off all pretension as constitution-makers and usurped executive power. For three years they ruled the land in a régime of blood and terror. The foreign attacks melted away before the fury of the revolutionary armies, and the Convention then determined to carry liberty, equality, and fraternity to all the world. This violent time of strife and desolation came to an abrupt stop on the appearance of Bonaparte.

Napoleon Bonaparte played a momentous part in world history, although his career was filled with singular contradictions. The ends he sought proved to be illusions. His

THE MODERN CAESAR, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

boastful title, 'Son of the Revolution,' was a mere pretense. He was a dictator, an autocrat charged with immense personal ambition. His lasting works were built as toys for his people, to amuse them while he won an unmatched individual triumph, or else they came as incidents connected with the wars. Such were the bank, the law code, reform in education, the religious revival, internal improvements and prosperity, provincial organization, and military prowess. He destroyed the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 and erased several divine-right monarchies. He spread the ideals of democracy at home and over all the Continent. But his propaganda outside France planted a spirit of nationalism which turned against him, and a series of democratic movements which were destined to break his control over other peoples. For him the rights of man, the end of privileged classes, the brotherhood of a people were preachments aimed at gaining power and conquest. They revivified the states that he crushed and returned to work his own destruction.

1. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was born of Italian ancestry at Ajaccio in Corsica, where his family had taken some part in the independence movement. France snuffed out this effort and opened its schools to several promising Corsican youths. Napoleon thus went to Autun for preparatory work, and then on to the military college of Brienne. Mental curiosity, clean habits, a strong body, and an ambitious spirit made him a thorough student. His particular delights were mathematics, politics, and history. When the Revolution broke out in 1789 he entered the army in the hope that he might work for Corsican freedom. Foiled in that plan, he served in the ranks and quickly won recogni-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

tion and promotion. His character developed as he found a larger scope for action. The siege of Toulon in 1793 was raised through his effective direction of the artillery. Then in 1795 with the "whiff of grapeshot" he dispersed the menacing Parisian mob in the Place de la Concorde. By that stroke he entered history.

2. The Directory, the new government of the Year III, made Napoleon the national hero. In the next year he married the widow of a revolutionary general, Josephine Beauharnais, and the Directory incautiously gave him a field for his ambition in the command of the Army of Italy. With marvelous success he swept Austria from the Quadrilateral and went on to threaten Vienna. The emperor in the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) gave to France Savoy, Nice, the Austrian Netherlands, and the Ionian Islands. The First Coalition was dissolved. Restless, he now developed a plan to conquer his arch-enemy England. The Directory, however, feared this new genius and shipped him off with an army to Egypt and victory at the Pyramids—and the discovery of the Rosetta stone. Defeats at Aboukir Bay and in the siege of Acre dimmed his record, but he took passage across the Mediterranean and reached Paris as the man of the hour, come to save France from the Second Coalition of England, Austria, and Prussia.

3. The *coup d'état* of November 9-10, 1799 brought down the Directory. Napoleon obtained the supreme military command, formed a new Constitution, and became first consul. Turning to the war, he broke the Austrian forces at Marengo (1800) and bound them to a renewal of their former agreements in the Treaty of Lunéville (1801). England surrendered her late conquests in the Peace of Amiens (1802).

THE MODERN CAESAR, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

The first consul now made his abiding contribution to France. Copying Richelieu, he established the department prefects and the intendants. He created the Bank of France. A concordat with Rome revived the Catholic religion. The Code of Napoleon stated the law in simple and effective form, preserving liberty, equality, and religious toleration and confirming the abolition of feudalism. State education was patronized and regulated. Public works were fostered in new roads, bridges, canals, and fortifications. He played with the idea of a colonial empire in Louisiana and Santo Domingo, but soon turned his thoughts to greater plans.

4. On December 2, 1804 Napoleon crowned himself as emperor and entered upon his years of glory. A large popular vote approved his power. Insatiable in ambition, he now turned to the invasion of England, and in reply a Third Coalition was formed. Startling were his victories at Ulm (1805) and Austerlitz (1805), yet on the day after Ulm came the news of Nelson and Trafalgar. Still his star led him on, and Friedland (1807) brought the Peace of Tilsit and the end of the Coalition. To starve English business and banking into submission, he formed the 'continental system.' This was the high point of his career, and also the turning point. He placed members of his family upon several thrones and spoke of 'fraternity' to all Europe. He broke up the Holy Roman Empire and replaced it with German kingdoms. Feudalism everywhere went down in ruins. Then the member states of his system began to rebel against the economic throttling of England, for it choked their own exports; and with Russia at their head they joined forces to destroy him. The crisis came when Spain revolted against Joseph Bonaparte in 1808. Other uprisings followed, with England sup-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

porting the malcontents, and the Napoleonic Empire began its downward course.

In 1810 Napoleon divorced his wife and took as consort Maria Louisa of Austria. Russia now expressed irritation over the French revival of Poland, and the tsar abandoned the continental system and provoked Bonaparte into a war to the finish. It came. Borodino, the hollow victory at Moscow, Leipzig, and the Battle of the Nations (1813) brought him exile at Elba until the famous Hundred Days of 1815. Then, on June 18 of that year, in a final effort at Waterloo, he was overcome. The stay at St. Helena lasted until his death in 1821. Never since Julius Caesar had one man so dominated the life of Europe.

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CHAPTER LVII

The Peace Interlude of Metternich; American Republics

EUROPE breathed a sigh of relief at the passing of Napoleon. Such havoc and consternation lay abroad that the Continent longed for peace, calm, and the end of conflict. For twenty years they had known only the tramp of armies, the cry of revolution, and the death-marked path of the conqueror. Reaction now induced the decimated population of France to abandon for a time those exultant slogans of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The other peoples sought a way back to order through a restoration of the old régime. Their spokesman and guide was the Austrian statesman, Count Clemens Metternich (1773-1859).

Metternich was a combination of the ancient noble and the modern diplomat. Gracious, witty, generous, a man of integrity, he could match minds with wily Talleyrand or clever Canning. After three years as ambassador in Paris he became the head of the Austrian government in 1809, and for nearly forty years he maintained that position. He feared Russia as much as he did Napoleon, and he watched their epic combat of 1812, eager to come off with the spoils. The part played by Austria was decisive in the Battle of the Nations, and as the vanquished emperor journeyed to Elba, Metternich assembled and dominated the Congress of Vienna. His country had been the first to strike against the Revolution. It had turned the tide, and now in victory it

HISTORY OF EUROPE

would use its power and prestige to lead Europe back to the unity and peace that had been so rudely broken by Rousseau, Danton, and Napoleon.

The Congress of Vienna, meeting to rectify the ailments of the Continent, brought together the grandest assemblage of titles and gold lace that Europe had ever beheld. Representatives came from every sovereign, and Louis XVIII of France sent the man who had been successively abbé, bishop, revolutionary, and Napoleonist—Talleyrand. With the exception of Tsar Alexander, everyone wished to make the settlement a defeat for revolution and a triumph for the days gone by. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain took the leadership, with France ultimately admitted as an equal.

The assemblage first discussed the treaty (of Chaumont) that restored the political and geographical *status quo* of 1792. As the days passed and new discussions began to reshuffle the boundaries and the thrones, Metternich proposed that everything be settled according to the principle of legitimacy, which called for a general fixation of states as they had been before the Revolution, with France returning all conquests and the divine-right rulers reappointed. A Quadruple Alliance of the four great powers of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain undertook to guarantee the peace, and a Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria promised to bolster the covenant with the principles of religion.

The good will of the delegates, and the schemes of some of them, took no account of the fact that the world had changed since 1789. They disregarded the spirit of fraternity, or nationalism, that had come to thrill the souls of

THE PEACE INTERLUDE OF METTERNICH; AMERICAN REPUBLICS

many Europeans. The appealing, clamoring voice of liberty found little echo in those halls. Lastly, the tremendous economic change called the Industrial Revolution was unnoticed in the congress that aimed to give perpetual peace to the world. Within a generation these three new historic forces would undo the work of Vienna.

1. For a few years the policies of Metternich had their way, and Europe began once more to live in quiet and prosperity. International rivalries and the ambitions of rulers gave place to a measure of international cooperation and to the joint settlement of problems according to the Concert of Europe. Danger from another quarter was stifled by the Congress of Troppau in 1820. The protocol of this congress agreed that "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other States, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance, and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantees for legal order and stability. . . . The powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance."
2. While these lines were being written the American possessions of Spain and Portugal battled for freedom from their mother countries. The immediate outbreak of revolution in Argentina, Venezuela, and Mexico derived from the Napoleonic invasion of the Hispanic peninsula and the forcible ejection of Ferdinand VII and John VI from their thrones. The Americans proclaimed their demand: "Our old king or none!" In default of legitimate rulers they took sovereignty into their own hands. San Martín in the south, Bolívar in the north of South America, and a succession of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

patriots in Mexico carried on the fight against the homeland from 1806 to 1824, when in the final battle of Ayacucho the Spanish forces surrendered. In Brazil the exiled rulers of Portugal established a kingdom, then an empire, independent of the home country. Mexico in victory elected the emperor Iturbide, only to change in the next year to republican rule. From Cape Horn to the Oregon Country independent nations replaced the colonial domains. After long struggles democratic governments were formed in all of these twenty Hispanic-American republics. The United States of America enunciated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 to protect the new republics, and all America, against Metternich and 'legitimacy.'

3. On the Continent the settlement of Vienna slowly broke down under the impact of liberty, fraternity, and the Industrial Revolution. Greece began the movement in her rebellion against Turkey. With the aid of Russia she won independence at the Battle of Navarino (1829). In 1830 the French ousted Charles X in favor of Louis Philippe. That same year saw Belgium, supported by England, separate peacefully from the Kingdom of Holland. Italians in Piedmont attempted an uprising, but Austria put them down. Then in 1848 a continent-wide rebellion occurred against 'legitimacy.' Metternich had to flee in disguise to England, the refuge of so many homeless monarchs. In France a new Napoleon came to power by a ruse, and four years later, through a skillful use of the Napoleonic legend, he became Emperor Napoleon III. Italy began her slow and steady growth toward nationality. Portugal, Spain, the German states, even England felt the democratic current of 1848, and—fortunately for the growing countries of the New World—

THE PEACE INTERLUDE OF METTERNICH; AMERICAN REPUBLICS

thousands of political exiles with their families sought liberty and opportunity in America.

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CHAPTER LVIII

The Industrial Revolution

METTERNICH and 'legitimacy' ran up against the stark fact that history moves ever onward. "Men dinna change," but the art of man constantly develops new tools and methods, and his mind generates ideas which become part of the culture that his children inherit. In the years shortly before 1800 the abstract ideas of progress, civilization, liberty, and democracy evoked wide interest and fixed themselves on the contemporary mind. Not that change, culture, freedom, or representative government were discoveries of that age. Rather, the advocates of reform raised the ideas to the rank of deities, in whose name, indeed, many crimes were committed. Nevertheless such slogans had a powerful appeal for the people of the day, and the revolutionary claim to equality in possessions and position stirred the lower classes everywhere.

Similarly during those years an epochal change occurred in industry and commerce. New tools and engines were invented. New methods of manufacture, transportation, and communication outmoded the ancient economic system.

These ideas and engines brought such pressure to bear on the settlement of Metternich that his principle of legitimacy vanished. A new political scheme captured the world—nationalism and imperialism. The capitalist strode forward, and his influence unbalanced the control formerly exercised by the agricultural nobility. It became possible for the son of a

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

poor man to make himself financially independent, provided his energy and ambition were superior. The increase of riches elevated men to the highest economic standard of living yet known. As the doctrine of liberty was applied to business on the *laissez-faire* principle of unbridled competition, old restrictions melted away and money became the object of universal and chaotic pursuit.

The unique blessing of the Industrial Revolution was the machine. Machines replaced manual work as soon as the forces of nature were harnessed by the inventors who applied the power of expanding steam, exploding gas, or electric current to the revolutions of a belted shaft. That done, there was scarcely a limit to the quantity of output. New needs arose as new and cheap commodities multiplied. New sources were tapped for raw materials. Vast cargoes of merchandise began to cross the lands and oceans on machine-driven vessels. And profits rose proportionately. In later years men found that the machine was a monster whose output exceeded the needs and consumptive power of mankind, and in striving for some adjustment fierce wars were fought and serious domestic questions troubled every country. In England men were so outraged by this intruder that they rioted and tried to destroy their new enemy, the machine. Machinery ushered in our present era as truly as *philosophie* molded the French Revolution. One who neglects that critical fact will fail to understand the world of today.

1. The steam engine was the prime invention. In 1769 James Watt improved a simple Newcomen steam pump with his escape attachment, and when the piston was coupled to

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the crankshaft the essential problem of the power drive was solved. Other important inventions dealt with silk and cotton manufacture, mining appliances, and transportation. Kay's flying shuttle (1738) did the work of many weavers. Hargreaves' spinning jenny (1770) multiplied the distaffs. Whitney's cotton gin (1793) saved much labor in cleaning the cotton. Precision tools, steel processes, photography, the railroad, and the steamship hurried on the economic developments.

2. Before the Industrial Revolution manufacture was done for the most part at home. Now the steam engine and the new textile machinery induced men of wealth to build special structures to house their precious machines. In these 'factories' the domestic life would not slow up the workmen. Systematic production could be achieved. The size and turnover of the factory depended only on the capital and the ambition of the owner. The factory system revolutionized industry, and revolutionized the lives of the working people.

3. England took the lead in the revolution. Though her population of nine millions in 1785 did not match France's twenty-six millions, and her trade, water-power, silk, and flax were similarly inferior, yet she had other advantages in the race. Her guild system broke down earlier, allowing her workmen to move about and her manufacturers to operate without restraint. Her government was commerce-minded. In fact, it was controlled by the mercantile groups and quite ready to pass 'enclosure acts' to further agriculture and wool-raising for her machinery, in spite of the hardships brought by these acts to the impoverished gentry. In the wars against France she gained complete sea domination and took world markets from her distracted neighbor. Finally, she had greater accumulated and centralized capital, and it

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

readily went into British manufacture. France worried over her politics. England made money.

4. The factory system industrialized manufacture as scientific farming had previously industrialized English agriculture, in both cases enabling fewer hands to produce more commodities. Employers profited accordingly. Workmen, too, could gain good wages, and with this money they purchased many articles hitherto beyond their means. Yet those who operated the machines were now concentrated in cities and found themselves degraded into the position of 'proletarians,' without property, land, or tools, dependent exclusively on wages, and living in rented rooms. Congested tenements built by the factory owners became city slums. The work was most monotonous, trying on the nerves, wearing down the physique, and devoid of any happy outlook for the future. Unemployment occurred frequently because of the uncharted course of industry and occasionally because of the greedy speedup or shutdown of a selfish capitalist. Skilled workmen found that the unskilled enjoyed a success equal to their own, and ideals of workmanship declined. Women and children were often hired, for they were more adept in textile work, more conscientious, more easily directed, and satisfied with smaller wages. Debtor prisons furnished hands for many tasks, further debasing the attitude of the employers toward workmen. Irreligion followed. The rush of wealth preoccupied the successful, while the failures, the unemployed, the victims of greed in their dismay gave little thought to virtue and despaired of a worthy life. The empty deism of the time offered them scant inspiration toward the worship and service of the Maker of such a world.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

5. The Industrial Revolution elevated capitalists to an importance equaling that of the gentry and nobility, and political reforms were quickly obtained in the broadening of the franchise and the opportunity for office-holding. The workingmen on their part, gathered in the cities and more numerous as the population increased, became readers of newspapers and listeners to party orators. They gradually won a voice in the elections and began to make their will count in Parliament. The revolutions of 1848 were closely connected with this new labor power, begotten of capitalism and the factory system.

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CHAPTER LIX

The Creation of Germany and Italy

IN THE year 1870 Europe witnessed the arrival of two great nations, Germany and Italy. Their rapid rise to power and independence forecast their important place in contemporary life. Both of them were products of the events recounted in the stories of Napoleon, Metternich, and the Industrial Revolution. Each, however, had its special character deeply rooted in the past, and each emerged through the work of an unusual man of action: in Germany, Bismarck, and in Italy, Cavour.

The impulse toward nationality in these countries called forth memories of ancient traditions. For centuries the Holy Roman Empire had dominated their territories, holding together the various Germanic provinces and exerting a large control on the Italian peninsula. Its influence, however, led the two along opposite lines. In Germany it furnished the framework for a sense of oneness in race, language, commerce, imperial law, and to some extent in government. In Italy it furthered the already sharp division of the land and people into various hostile and jealous groups; for after the fall of Rome 'Italia' was no more than a name, never a political unit, and the Empire was in continual conflict with the independent cities of northern Italy and the Papal States.

Historic German literature gave fire to the national spirit. The tradition ran down through medieval Walther, through Luther, Von Spee, Schiller, and Goethe, to the nineteenth-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

century philosophers, historians, and musicians. Among the latter class Schlegel, Fichte, Hegel, Treitschke, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Von Ranke, Grimm, and Wagner were notable figures. The French Revolution assisted with its doctrine of fraternity, the united nation. In 1834 the *Zollverein*, or Customs Union, bound all the north-German states under the leadership of Prussia, and the Frankfort Assembly of 1848 emphasized the fellowship of the Germanic Confederation formed in 1815. It mattered little that, in politics, the people obeyed the rulers of forty separate states. They were all one in racial strain, in art, and in a temperament marked by discipline, system, and reverence.

Italy had no such past. Aside from the *Monarchia* of Dante (1300) and his plea for a new Roman empire of all Christendom with Rome as its capital, there was no literary tradition based on racial or political unity. The Papal State alone dated their sovereignty to the remote times of Leo the Great and the first Gregory, and the popes were the one element of stability in a land whose history told of constant feuds and rivalries between families and cities. The invasion and conquest of Napoleon gave to the Italians their first sense of oneness; unity under one political control, unity against accepting a foreign rule. In 1805 the Carbonari formed a society to free Italy from outside domination. Noteworthy writers, Mazzini at their head, revived the thoughts of Dante and pleaded in glowing language for an Italian nation. But as in Germany, so in Italy it required Machiavellian force to bring all parts under one sovereignty. Even

THE CREATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY

then Cavour was heard to remark: "Now that we have made Italy, we must make Italians!"

1. The goal sought by the statesmen of Germany was the eclipse of Austrian leadership and the grasping of power by Prussia. The king of Prussia, William I, sought the solution through the use of the Prussian military. His chief commander, Helmuth von Moltke, and his war minister, Albrecht von Roon, stood firmly by him, but his Reichstag refused the necessary subsidies. Then in 1862 he summoned home his ambassador to France, Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), to accept the chancellorship and to carry through the plans for Prussian victory. Bismarck arose in the Reichstag to deliver his famous words on "Blut und Eisen." He then dismissed the Parliament and proceeded to govern without it. He laid his plans carefully. Prussia alone could lead the way. Prussia, the home of patriotic thought, of Stein and the University of Berlin, a pure German state unlike the Austrian racial compound, the heir of Frederick the Great—Prussia would end the Germanic Confederation, humiliate Austria, and then through foreign war unite all parties. In 1864 the war in Schleswig-Holstein gained the first point. The Seven Weeks' War of 1866 broke the Austrian supremacy at Sadowa and gathered the North German Confederation around its leader, Prussia. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) saw Napoleon walk into the Bismarck trap, the notorious Ems telegram, and provoke a short but fatal struggle. Napoleon lost his throne. France became a republic. William I was proclaimed emperor of Germany in the beautiful Versailles Hall of Mirrors.

2. The Italian problem was complicated by the independ-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

ence of the Papal States, by Austrian control of Venice and guardianship of Rome, and by Spanish power in Naples and French protection of the pope. Moreover, the people of Italy had to be propagandized into the will to union. Mazzini and Garibaldi began to work through writings and abortive revolutions, but Cavour was the master strategist. He first made sure that his king, Victor Emanuel II of Sardinia and Piedmont, would accept the leadership in uniting the Italian states. His next care was to inflame the national spirit and to demand the exclusion of alien powers from Italian life. Lastly he wove an intricate and successful web of diplomacy, winning the support of England and Prussia, threatening and then cajoling Napoleon III into an alliance that resulted in victory over Austria in 1859. In Italy he organized riots and plebescites demanding that Sardinia bring about the national union. He sent Garibaldi to Naples with the glamorous Red Shirts. Then on March 17, 1861 the king assumed the title of king of Italy, with his capital at Turin. Cavour died within three months, but the move went onward.

3. The great obstacle to political unity was the States of the Church. Italians loved their religion. They knew that the Papal States had a juridical right going back to time immemorial. They knew that the popes needed territorial independence if they would exercise an international religious authority in the world. On the other hand many longed for a united nation, and their number was increased by propagandists and by the counters of votes in the plebescites asking for national union. The pope, Pius IX, had supported the liberal movement until it degenerated into assassination and wanton destruction in the name of liberty. After 1848 he listened briefly to a proposal that he become

THE CREATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY

the president of an Italian confederation, but he knew that it would not succeed, and the liberals and radicals were hostile to him on every count. False stories depicted degrading conditions in the Papal States, though all diplomats knew that they were one of the best-governed territories in Europe and quite advanced in modern improvements. At last the king decided on force, and in 1870 he broke through the walls of Rome. Rome was proclaimed the capital of the new nation. The Papal States were taken from the pope and made a part of the nation. In protest the pope withdrew to permanent seclusion within the Vatican. The royal action left a sadly divided people, and gave an opportunity to the secret societies to take over the government and carry on until the outbreak of the World War.

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CHAPTER LX

The New Social Problem; Solutions Attempted

THE passing of French feudalism in 1789 was but a sign of the general social upheaval that took place at the opening of the nineteenth century. The old order of social classes based on noble blood and feudal landholding had gone forever. The old rights and duties of the feudal nobility disappeared. The simple, calm life of tenant farmers and small shopkeepers gave way to a servile membership in the factory system and in the proletarian city life.

These changes were seriously complicated by the new spirit of equality. The ideas of Rousseau, Sieyès, and the National Convention (and of Locke and Hume) captivate the European mind. In response to this spirit many Continental peoples adopted new constitutions and government methods intended to guarantee equality to all—equal voting rights, property rights, court rights. Parties and unions were formed to champion these rights and to extend them, in opposition to powerful men who, on the ground of profit or of fanaticism, would endeavor to enslave their equals or subjugate them. This equality found itself at odds with the Industrial Revolution and its chaotic economy. And the hardships of that revolution, coming in an epoch when feudalism was dead and politics had shifted fundamentally, put so many strains on society that statesmen and moral leaders had to face questions of the utmost gravity.

THE NEW SOCIAL PROBLEM; SOLUTIONS ATTEMPTED

The problem of obedience to civil and religious authority had not yet forced itself to the front. Europe in that era still maintained its respect for rulers and religion. The difficulty lay mostly in the economic order, and it pressed heavily on the working people. The factory system brought unemployment, or at best a small share of the profits, for the workmen. With bad labor conditions, degradation of the wage-earner and his family, and little voting power to change things, there arose the universal clamor: "The propertyless are exploited!" In 1811-1816 the Luddite Riots struck at machinery and its owners. The year 1848 saw the English Chartists protest against the denial of the vote, while in Madrid, Paris, Milan, Vienna, and Moscow street riots prefaced a series of revolutionary movements.

All parties realized that the new industry was bound up with both the benefits and the evils of the machine. The immediate problem lay in the use and control of machinery. One class of economists answered with the slogan of free competition as the key to universal happiness. On the other hand notable leaders stressed the need for a control of liberty in business and a reasonable regulation of economic functions. The question was: How to provide a decent wage, so that men might live decently? Such was the social problem.

1. Liberalism was the solution offered by the most vocal and affluent party. This liberalism meant the freeing of the individual from restraint by any class, group, or government. Everyone should have complete opportunity to live his own life as he wished. Men of that day did not, in general, see that this doctrine cut both ways, that it could be a tool

HISTORY OF EUROPE

for any majority to work its will, whether in the London Board of Trade or in a Spanish anarchist tribunal. Adam Smith and the classical school, Turgot and the physiocrats, Cobden, Bright and the Manchester liberals, all held the basic principles of this idea of *laissez faire*. Let there be no government regulation of business, lest it jar the economic "nature of things" to the hurt of both labor and capital.

2. Humanitarians suggested help for the workingman by building parks, schools, and hospitals, supporting any plan to brighten his gloomy life but forgetting the root of the trouble. Comte and his sociological school forwarded this idea.

3. The revolutionary school aimed to create a new society and to give to workingmen the rule in all countries. In this way only, so they held, could the evils be cured. They were divided into three classes:

a) The socialists Babeuf, Owen, and Blanc urged government ownership of the means of production, thus to insure the protection of labor from its exploiters. Henry George in America advocated the single tax, on land, to curb excessive holding of what he considered the sole source of wealth.

b) Anarchists wished to end all government. To them it was only a tool of the rich for the effective and permanent exploitation of the poor. Proudhon, author of the classic shibboleth, "Property is theft," sought to bring about reform through legislative action. Bakunin demanded "direct action." The doctrine of anarchism had great vogue in Paris, in the Russian cities, and in Spain, where it continued until the 1930's. Terrorism, in the minds of most believers, was the one direct road to this goal.

c) Communism dated its rise from the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) of Karl Marx (1818-1883). Marx was born of

THE NEW SOCIAL PROBLEM; SOLUTIONS ATTEMPTED

Jewish parentage in Trier, Germany. He completed the gymnasium course, attended the University of Berlin, and gained the doctorate at Jena. In Berlin he learned the doctrine of Hegel that the individual counts for nothing, that the State is all, that the "collective soul" is the race and the nation. In 1843, on the suppression of his newspaper, he went to Paris, where he joined Frederick Engels. Asked to move, in 1845 he came to Brussels. Within three years he was back in Paris, whence he finally went into exile in England, his home until his death. Financially independent, he worked to give the social problem his own special attention. He wrote the *Manifesto* of 1848, and in 1867 he began the publication of his *Das Kapital*. In the year 1864 he founded the First International. His economics was involved, but his political solution was simple: There has been an age-old struggle of the few rich against the many poor; the evolution of the capitalistic system will put an end to that struggle and make the workingmen supreme, the proletariat will have complete political power, and the State will own and manage all economic life. Then the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will abolish all bourgeois institutions, private property, free trade, religion, morality, the family, and nationalism. All this will come by the ballot and political processes. (Lenin introduced the idea that it will come only by force.) Materialistic socialism will then bring the millenium.

4. The Christian solution for the social problem was proposed by a succession of lay leaders and bishops, among them Villeneuve-Bargemont, Ozanam, and Von Ketteler. Pope Leo XIII put it into classic form in his *Rerum Novarum*. Briefly, the problem is not political—"do not worship legal reforms"—but social and religious. Private property and

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the eternal destiny of man are fundamental facts on which any just and lasting solution must rest. A living wage is necessary and obligatory. Rights are possessed by worker as well as by employer. In response to this program Christian labor unions quickly arose on the Continent and in America, and in several countries political parties committed themselves to a Christian solution of this tremendous question.

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CHAPTER LXI

Science, Politics, and Religion in the Nineteenth Century

THE nineteenth century produced a remarkable development in scientific knowledge and methods of research. Equally notable was the broadening of democracy through extension of the ballot and some excellent labor legislation. And yet, despite the obvious value of the science and democracy, their impact tended to strain the ties that bound Europe to historic religion. This fact demands explanation, for it has exercised a distinctive influence on modern society.

In France, Germany, and England workingmen obtained an increasing opportunity to vote and to hold office. Other states followed their lead. When once they had gained representation, these men through their party programs petitioned and won government protection for labor. New laws improved working conditions and guaranteed the workingman against the hazards of accident, sickness, and old age.

As the political parties developed and party theories were advanced, a notable section in each country came to adopt an anti-clerical attitude. The French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese democracies were most affected by this tendency. The earlier deists had everywhere opposed organized religion. Now it was a new spirit—that of the rationalists, together with the new scientists and especially the nationalists—that took a hostile attitude toward Christianity. To this

HISTORY OF EUROPE

last group religion was a rival of the State, that nineteen century ideal of Hegel and Nietzsche which claimed absolute and unchallenged loyalty of all citizens.

Science opposed religion on the ground that the new discoveries shattered the supports of Christianity. In geology, biology, and sociology, and in history and literary criticism men found new ammunition to attack what Voltaire had called *l'Infâme*.

i. In both fields, science and politics, the conflict was most sharp in Catholic countries. The Catholic faith is unalterable and is, moreover, entirely independent of scientific conclusion. Those who held to private interpretation could shift their interpretation and attempt to harmonize religion with the latest scientific hypothesis or political experiment. Catholicism was called clerical, as though the clergy alone claimed to possess, conserve, and defend the faith of the Church, and it was held up as unscientific and an enemy of progress and of the State. Generally speaking, the anti-clericals were middle class politicians, university radicals, followers of the new science, or political time-servers, who wanted the clergy to stay within their walls and to exert no influence on civil life. In their usage the term *clerical* became a propaganda word of great power.

This opposition became more insistent when the Church refused to become 'national' in the strongly nationalistic countries. The highly organized Church was supra-national in its hierarchy, language, belief, and sacraments. Moreover, Catholic opposition to the French revolutionary Civil Constitution of the Clergy had fixed the republican tradition against the Church. And when the Vatican Council of 1870 defined

SCIENCE, POLITICS, AND RELIGION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

the infallibility of papal teaching of a doctrine concerning faith or morals, anti-clericalism raged. Austria denounced the definition officially. Gladstone in England took the lead in public condemnation. In Italy the Masonic leaders voiced their protest. In France a long and bitter political warfare was inaugurated. During the reign of Leo XIII (1878-1903) the battle waned under the influence of his intelligent and successful efforts at pacification, but the hostility of the omnipotent State to the infallible Church has continued to be a major cause of division in contemporary life. To many this is the great dilemma of the world.

2. The new science properly began in Germany, where intensive efforts were made to discover the perfect method of writing history. Men sought its philosophy. They investigated documents for their inner truth and gave to Europe new principles of research. Success emboldened them. They won disciples in university circles, and soon the 'higher critics' had "demolished" most of the history and the documents of traditional religion. And when the British researches in geology and biology "disproved" the biblical narrative of the creation and of the origin of man, Europe was dismayed. The shock of this new science struck the Church while she was struggling with three serious problems: social readjustment, political hostility, and a weakness in education due to the ravages of revolutionary attacks. She quickly advanced to meet the threat by encouraging new and intensive research, the building of new colleges and universities, and a generally aggressive attitude toward an epoch which had kept the Church on the defensive since the days of Luther. Pasteur, Mendel, the Oxford Movement, and historians such as Pastor showed the way. When in 1883 Leo XIII threw open the Vatican

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Library to the free investigation of scholars from all creeds and countries, an entirely fresh view came to be taken regarding the relation between religion and science.

3. Wherever religion was represented by an established national church, the new science and politics wrought havoc. Modernists were the *ultra* in private interpretation. They accepted the varying pronouncements of investigators in natural science, history, and critical method with an avidity that astonishes men who read of their vacillations in the newspapers of the nineteenth century. Fundamentalists held to traditional views and refused to look at the evidence. Many of these saw their children rebel against this unintellectual attitude and abandon their religion, particularly in the universities, where learned professors delighted in their messianic role of removing the remnants of 'medieval' obscurantism.

4. The new science was unfortunately turned from its primary purpose to the destruction of historic religion. Lyell studied geology and declared that the earth had assumed its present topography only after an incalculable period of natural changes. He conjectured that man must be fifty thousand years old. From this the geologists went on to attack the biblical account of creation and the origin of man. Darwin (1809-1882) collected thousands of fauna and flora in the South Seas, and wrote his *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man*. Wallace bulwarked these findings by independent research, and both introduced the contemporary idea of evolution. Spencer, Huxley, and Haeckel popularized the concept of human evolution, and soon millions had accepted the Darwin-Spencer notion that "in the struggle for existence, the fittest survive, through natural selection." There was no need to postulate a God, no morality in that process at all, nothing

SCIENCE, POLITICS, AND RELIGION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

but universal material and materialism, out of which arose a "nature red in tooth and claw."

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CHAPTER LXII

Intellectual Life in the Nineteenth Century

WHEN events are close to us it is hard to see them in a proper perspective. Nevertheless the fact seems clear that the knowledge gained during the past hundred years far exceeds that of any previous century. Not only was it a time of feverish intellectual activity and social movement, but the tremendous growth in world population and wealth, in business organization and governmental activity, seemed to call forth and assist in the production of applied learning on a scale hitherto unimagined.

A further factor in this growth was the intensification of education. Democracy urged that an opportunity for school training be given to all, and every state devoted large sums to education and organized a nation-wide system for the development of its youth. In many countries education was made compulsory. Reading and writing became the possession of most European children, and books were printed and read on a gigantic scale. The fact that education was thus directed by governments tended to give it a secularist tone. The schools took on a neutral or laic character because of the prevalence of nonsectarianism in its many divergent shades. The revolutions had suppressed important teaching orders, whose academies, colleges, and seminaries in the old régime were so vital for the preservation of the religious outlook. With the disappearance of these schools and schoolmasters the State became the moving power behind educa-

INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

tion, and personal, humanitarian, and religious motives gave way to political sponsorship and control. The exceptional enlightenment furnished by scientific studies seemed to justify this changed attitude. It was the century of hope, a hope based on the power of science and democracy to solve all world problems.

Pre-eminently a century of action, its *knowing* was equaled by its *doing*. Principles of science date from distant centuries. The Greeks and Egyptians discovered and forecast many uses of the forces of nature. It was left, however, for the latter days to exploit the value of experimental proof, and in the experimenting practical applications were brought forth. As the attentive European audience stimulated the production of a great literature and a greater music, so a monied public encouraged by its use the development of an apparently unlimited number of material aids to life. The inventions stimulated the finding of new methods and theories and formulae, as well as completely new fields of knowledge. In the eighteenth century the philosophers could pretend to an acquaintance with all ascertainable information. Today that pretense would be ridiculous and futile. Moreover, the very vastness of these additions to our store of tools and knowledge has checked the earlier deistic satisfaction with our understanding of the world, and has become the main reason for the return of many thinkers and educators to a life-basis of traditional religion. Such has been the curious cycle of modern science.

1. The world of the heavens challenged astronomers, and soon mathematics and physics measured light and produced

HISTORY OF EUROPE

a new theory of matter. Doppler and Bunsen worked on the spectrum, Maxwell on electromagnetic waves, and Millikan isolated the electron, or atom of electricity. Dalton and Mendeleef paved the way to systematic chemistry. Biology too readily accepted Darwinism, but Mendel and Morgan did careful research in genetics and with Pasteur lent assistance to the extremely fruitful development of medical science. The utilization of these discoveries in transportation, communication, domestic economy, and health, together with the expansion of population, has in a sense changed the face of the earth.

2. Meanwhile in literature and music artists paralleled the achievements of scientists. Never before had there been so much good writing, and the printing of cheap editions and the establishment of libraries responded to the popular interest in literary production. In every country distinctive artists appeared. Romanticists headed the procession. Their wondrous tales prepared men to accept the prophecy of a perfect future civilization. In Germany Schlegel, Goethe, and Hegel sang the glories of the national spirit. Burke and Scott in England accompanied the German authors in rediscovering medieval times, while Macaulay and Browning lauded their own happy clime. Dickens sought to better his days in the spirit of the humanitarians. In France De Maistre spoke against the unhappy Revolution. Later French writers espoused realism in an effort at objective portrayal of life as it looked to their eyes. Thus Hugo, Balzac, Zola, and Dumas pictured their times. The Russians Tolstoy and Gorky saw so vividly the sordid side of life that they lost faith in their age—a feeling that was reflected in the English language in Shaw and Wells, though counteracted in a notable way by

INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Chesterton. Hispanic America and the United States read of liberty and progress down to the end of the century. At that point a feeling of helplessness seemed to overcome literary genius, and drama and fiction took on the note of despair with self and society. Ibsen in Norway satirized life and offered no solutions, as did Strindberg in Sweden and Hauptmann in Germany. France, England, and America brought forth the talented malcontents whom Harvey Wickham has aptly called the 'misbehaviorists' and the 'impuritans.' On the other hand, throughout intellectual Europe and America appeared a persistent force leading back to traditional religion many of the leading figures in philosophy, science, history, and literature. Among this group were Littre, Soloviev; Bergson, Maritain, Windle, Gill, Hayes, Lord, Jorgensen, Noyes, Chesterton, Huysmans, and Veuillot.

3. The music of the century deserves the highest praise. Italians, French, Slavs, and Scandinavians excelled, but the German composers led the movement. Bach and Mozart had pointed the way, and now Ludwig von Beethoven (1770-1827) appeared as the most notable musician of all time. Like Shakespeare he is old yet ever new, true master of his art, classical in rhythm, triumphantly individual in feeling, though his concepts speak the thoughts of his country and his time. His countryman Schubert has the magnificent simplicity of genius. Wagner was both the world teacher in opera and an outstanding interpreter of nationalism in his music, which even today is called the symbol of the German national character. Grieg and Sibelius in the North; in France Berlioz, Franck, and Massenet; Tchaikowsky and Borodin among the Slavs; in Italy Verdi—these are merely the first among a list of many great names. The perfecting of new instruments

HISTORY OF EUROPE

widened the scope of the composers, but the violin remained the foundation of all major orchestration.

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CHAPTER LXIII

Imperialist Expansion

THE early history of the nineteenth century is a tale of revolutions. Following that story comes a series of chapters on the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the century, sketching society in its modern setting. The study moves on to its conclusion with a narrative of the politics of the present era.

Ever since the discovery of America the nations of Europe have striven to acquire new territories, to build up in distant and unorganized regions a New England, a New France, a New Portugal, a New Spain, a New Holland, a New Belgium, a New Italy, or a New Germany. The earlier movements involved a planting of the home culture and home population in a colonial land. Success in this plantation forwarded the growth of the policy of mercantilism, and colonies were desired as producers of raw materials and consumers of finished products, all in the interest of the home treasury and the home economic system.

In the new imperialism of the nineteenth century political scheming or deliberate conquest brought on the policy of owning *subject* lands and peoples who would produce raw materials and form a market for home production. Sometimes this owning would be rather a banking servitude, induced by the loaning of funds by the home country for native reconstruction. If one were to attempt a general definition, he might say that imperialism became a system of

HISTORY OF EUROPE

"world markets protected by armed force," the home country always employing a suitable army and navy to maintain its 'rights' and to keep the seas clear for its traffic.

Imperialism was a child of nationalism and the Industrial Revolution. National governments assisted the new capital generated by industry to find markets and raw materials. Zones of influence among the backward nations of the world were marked off and exploited by each European nation. To excuse these zoning operations, it became customary for propagandists to speak of the "white man's burden."

The idea of the earlier commercialism had been undermined by Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. The argument ran that *laissez faire* was more proper and successful than the former regulation, control, and import duties charged to colonial shipping; and that the home government would do better to let trade within the Empire proceed freely. Free trade came to be an English slogan, and in 1849 it received official approval in the repeal of the old Navigation Laws. Moreover, colonial revolts such as the American Revolution proved mercantilism a too-costly policy. Cobden in 1849 declared that such revolts would "make the home government sink under the weight of its own empire."

The imperialist system was employed by every important European power, and it found fields for exploitation in Africa, in the undeveloped sections of Asia, and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In 1815 England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland held lands in other continents. Russia had gone across the steppes of Siberia to the Pacific. China and Japan were soon to be forced to accept outside

IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

contact. The day of Belgium was approaching. Germany and Italy awaited 1870 and national union before beginning their vigorous imperialist campaigns. Every nation urged the motives of business, patriotism, and missionary work. Many of them, however, found that little profit came from the enterprises and that colonies meant mounting deficits. Income was realized chiefly from the carrying trade and banking loans, and hence most of the gains were reaped by private companies or individuals rather than by the home government. It was contended, however, that such commercial prosperity must certainly promote the general welfare of industry, and there was always the inducement of settling the surplus population in the better parts of the empire.

i. China became a field for immense exploitation. This land, as large as all Europe and with 300,000,000 people, resisted foreign intrusion but was powerless to keep out the Europeans. The Opium War of 1840-1842 opened four ports to foreign trade and attached Hongkong to England. The Second Chinese War (1856-1860) opened six more ports and legalized the opium trade. The Chinese-Japanese War (1894-1895) gave to Japan Korea, Port Arthur, and Formosa—an exchange which led Russia into the disastrous war of 1904-1905 against Japan. In 1897 Germany took Kiaochow and the Shantung peninsula, and Russia obtained railroad rights in Manchuria. Japan and England allied in 1902 for the furthering of their 'mutual interests' in China. France by 1862 had won Indo-China, the Annam protectorate, Tonkin, and Hainan. These territorial, commercial, and industrial encroachments created the 'spheres of influence' shared by the imperialist powers in China.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

2. Japan after 1542 and the Portuguese visit maintained relations with Europe until the persecution of 1635. Thenceforward, except to the Dutch, the islands were closed to the outside world. Then in 1853 Commodore Perry began his contacts, and in 1858 Yokohama was opened to trade with America and Europe. Japan learned a hard lesson when western gunfire avenged the murder of a British subject, and after 1864 she decided to imitate the Europeans, learn their ways, arm herself, and excel in western arts. The revolution of 1867-1868 ousted the old *daimios* and founded the Empire under the mikado Mutsuhito (1867-1912). An 'enlightened rule' abolished feudalism in 1871, and in 1889 made a constitution with a clause inserted to protect religious-freedom. Though she retained her old culture, Japan went on to build up a wealthy industry and shipping trade, and soon she established her Asiatic empire.

3. The master organizer of empire was Great Britain. Conquests, agreements, and the taking of unoccupied lands furnished the territory. By the administrative and commercial skill of the British these lands were united into a domain on which the sun never set. Piracy in the Spanish Main had preceded the East India and West India companies of 1600. Bermuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, and Jamaica came with the Atlantic coast colonies. In 1670 Prince Rupert founded the Hudson's Bay Company. Canada and French India were added in the Seven Years' War. Cape Colony was won from Holland in 1806 during the Napoleonic wars, Natal in 1843, and the Orange Free State country in 1848, while Hongkong and the adjacent mainland came in 1842. The Suez Canal was finished in 1869, and in 1875 Disraeli bought the shares owned by Egypt. After 1882 Egypt was a British dependency.

IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

Australia and New Zealand were acquired as a result of the voyages of Captain Cook. Gradually England came to govern a fourth of the land and population of the earth. In the Empire twelve million British subjects were settled in a proportion of one to thirty of the native people.

The government of the British commonwealth embraced four self-governing dominions: South Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Crown colonies were the West Indies, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Hongkong. The Malay States and, after 1914, Egypt were formally called protectorates. In India resided four-fifths of the imperial people, with a trade valued at half a billion pounds annually, and yet India is half the size of Canada. The Sepoy rebellion of 1857 ended the East India Company and inaugurated official British rule under a secretary of state for India and a resident viceroy with an executive council.

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CHAPTER LXIV

Alliances, Rivalries, Militarism

MANY writers in the period before 1914 prophesied the coming of a great war, and military staffs in all the great countries awaited its outbreak. Diplomats maneuvered to gain all possible protection and assistance for their home offices. War was widely regarded as inevitable—as so certain that men forecast its approximate date, its destructiveness, and the profound changes that would follow its ending.

And yet the man in the street exhibited an almost universal belief in the permanency of peace and prosperity. The ‘century of hope’ saw advances made in all the arts of life. Despite an increase of irreligion at home, abroad a notable missionary work was carried on by every people. In international circles the Concert of Europe projected by the Congress of Vienna gave promise of perpetual tranquillity. The Red Cross in 1864 began to extend its beneficent hand to sufferers everywhere. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 disposed of many troublesome problems, and the Hague Conference from 1899 to 1907 promoted a general spirit of arbitration in significant disputes.

Nevertheless the signs of the times were clear. Individualism, that child of the Renaissance, pervaded public and private life. Though science boasted that it could cure all evils, its misuse resulted in a widespread degradation of morals. The goddess Freedom was invoked to aid the arguments of

'ALLIANCES, RIVALRIES, MILITARISM

the powerful, whether in business or politics. Differing racial groups nourished mounting dislike and distrust, and the division of Christianity weakened what influence it could have brought to bear on the causes of war. Democracy had developed the mob psychology of nationalism. Statesmen stressed the absolute character of national sovereignty, and clever propaganda and noisy minorities outdid all common-sense patriotism in exalting the *patria* and belittling the neighbors. The Industrial Revolution stimulated a rivalry for the control of world trade, and governments abetted this emulation.

Lastly there were grave territorial problems, militarism, and a baneful scientific contribution to the war psychology. Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, the Balkans, and the internal dissensions in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy gave rulers cause for alarm in view of the separatist movements and the plans of grasping expansionists in eastern Europe. Bismarck taught the need and the use of large standing armies, and every country protected and favored its armed force and its munition makers. The Krupps in Germany, Schneider-Creusot in France, the Skoda works in Bohemia, Armstrong in England, and Du Pont in the United States were all in the business of making destructive weapons, and they were pushing their sales on every continent. Finally, devotees of progress-through-war spoke out in all the greater nations. Each in some way stated the thesis of the Prussian Von Bernhardi that "war gives a biologically just decision," for "in the struggle for existence the fittest survive." In such turmoil, Europe went on toward a conflagration.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

1. The remote causes of the war have been variously reckoned as the Treaty of Verdun (843), the Lutheran revolt (1517), the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), or Sedan (1870). After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 the whole Continent began to seek advantageous alignments for the coming contest. Diplomacy gave the nineteenth century the catchword of legitimacy and the Holy Alliance, but both were dissolved in the subsequent revolutions and democratic movements. When the universally accepted principles of international law went into the discard, governments adopted a quite individualistic program of diplomatic action called 'Realpolitik': "Seek the interests of your nation, no matter what the moral issue involved!" All countries used this adaptation of Machiavelli in an unethical, aggressive, and often truculent attitude toward one another.
2. Germany held the leadership of continental Europe after 1871 until Bismarck was dismissed in 1890. He desired no further gains beyond what the Franco-Prussian War had given Germany. His aim was to prevent any French aggression tending to regain land lost in that war. Hence he isolated France from other countries in diplomacy. He kept England neutral and satisfied, and he refused to engage with her in an argument over colonies. The Three Emperors League of 1871, renewed every three years afterward until 1887, bound together Russia, Austria, and the German Reich, and the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 continued Russian support. Bismarck formed the Triple Alliance for mutual defense with Austria (1879) and Italy (1882)—a contract renewed every year until 1915 when Italy withdrew.
3. From 1890 to 1914 there was a balance of power between two rather equal groups. In 1890 Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888-

ALLIANCES, RIVALRIES, MILITARISM

1918) had forced the resignation of Bismarck and reversed his policies. Within three years Russia and France signed the Dual Alliance. England remained aloof from 1890 to 1904, cooperating with Germany and remaining a rival of France. Slowly Germany became estranged from England, whose conservatives were busy building her big navy from 1895 to 1905. These conservatives were disturbed over the growth of German industry and world trade, the German 'big-navy program,' and German favors toward the Boers in their war with England (1899-1902). England was finally won over to alliance with France through the efforts of Premier Delcassé. His persistent aim in diplomacy was the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine and of British friendship. During 1904 he made several conventions with England for the settlement of colonial disputes, and in 1902 he signed a secret accord of neutrality with Italy for use in future emergencies. Out of the conventions arose the Entente Cordiale. This agreement was transformed in 1907 into the Triple Entente including Russia, France, and England, to assure mutual assistance in international affairs and a division of 'spheres of influence.'

4. Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm frequently got into international trouble. Conflicting rights in Morocco raised serious questions in 1905 and 1908, and in 1911 a German warship, the *Panther*, anchored in the harbor of Agadir to 'protect' German interests. The Balkans and the Near East were live problems from 1898 to 1914, with the projected Baghdad Railway as the great German objective. The Balkan wars of 1908, 1911-1912, and especially 1912-1913 exhibited the determination of Germany and Austria to influence and dominate, and likewise brought to the front the Russian Pan-Slavic movement in the same region.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

5. The year 1913-1914 found both camps armed to the teeth, and on June 28, 1914 occurred the fatal incident. Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated at Sarajevo. At once Germany gave a 'blank check' to Austria, and France to Russia, to go ahead as they wished and to count on complete backing from the partners. Germany was herself ringed round with steel, nervous, determined to strike if threatened and to act quickly and with power. Russia and France both had designs on Germany and German influence. England joined with them, and soon the world was at war.

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CHAPTER LXV

The World War and the Peace of Versailles

THE world was shocked by the news of the Sarajevo assassination. What many had feared now became the stark truth. Statesmen hurried to their posts and diplomats worked feverishly to put off the crisis. Even the sword-rattlers stood back, for all realized that a world war had been started. No one wished to place the blame. All parties sought a peaceful solution.

Austria, however, was determined to settle her minorities problems once and for all. Russia in the hand of Sazonov grasped the opportunity to gain the hegemony of the Slavic Balkans. France saw her chance for *revanche*. The British government had no part in the local affair but quickly took sides against the great rival nation. Germany at bay struck her enemies.

It was not the sovereigns who willed the war. It was their ministries and their military men. The impotent tsar found his army mobilized and facing the German border even before he got the friendly telegram from the kaiser. Earl Grey, certain that England would fight, hesitated for some days until Germany put herself in a bad light before the world by the declaration of war and the invasion of Belgium. Germany alone could count on full support at home. The Allies were anxious that she first declare war so as to ensure a whole-hearted backing among their own people.

The nations were aligned as the Central Powers—Ger-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

many, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and after October of 1915 Bulgaria, and the Allies—France, Serbia, England, Russia, and later Italy, Japan, Rumania, and the United States. The war itself was a terrific disaster. Twenty million men were taken out of life, and an amount of wealth equal to the total wealth of the United States was literally blown to the skies. And when peace came it found an exhausted Europe. The treaty of peace was an act of force, replacing the idealism proposed by Wilson and accepted by the conquered nations as the basis of the peace. Post-war problems would plague Europe with new nightmares until the next war brought a more terrible devastation.

i. Germany at once took the aggressive and sought to execute her widely known Schlieffen Plan, to cut north of the French Vosges through Belgium and swing down across France from the northeast. An error of the general staff separated her armies and saved Paris. After the Battle of the Marne in August-September of 1914, the western front became a fixed line of trenches, so skillfully formed that only a military avalanche could burst through. Meanwhile the Russians came on toward Berlin. They were met at Tannenberg in East Prussia by the great Hindenburg and slaughtered. Continuing, this victorious German campaign crippled Russia by taking Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Riga. At the same time Austria with German help crushed Serbia. On the sea British sea-power swept the ocean clear of German ships and took all the German colonies. British money stood back of the Allies. The end of 1915 brought a stalemate, Germany supreme on land, Britain on the seas. Then came the fateful decision of Germany, either to force a break-through

THE WORLD WAR AND THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

at French Verdun, or to submarine England into surrender. Verdun proved a failure in July of 1916, and on January 31, 1917 Germany notified President Wilson that in future her submarines would sink on sight any merchantmen, under whatever flag, within specified areas adjoining the British Isles, France, and Italy. The United States at once broke diplomatic relations with Germany, and on April 6, 1917 declared war against her.

2. The total collapse of Russia as a belligerent seemed to assure victory for the Central Powers. With German connivance a revolution broke out in Russia early in March of 1917. The tsar was overthrown. At once brisk action by the Central Powers and pacifism in Russia gave complete victory to the former in the East, and in March of 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed. Henceforth the field of war was France and the Balkans. As early as 1916 both sides showed signs of fatigue, and undoubtedly the entry of the United States into the war gave new life to the Allies and led to their final success.

3. Both the war parties feared that the United States would join the enemy, and in the early days they engaged in widespread propaganda to win our sympathies. The British success in gaining command of the seas led German agents here to attempt to stop supplies at their sources. Sabotage began to occur in armament plants and on railroads. Agents in Mexico tried to involve us in trouble there, and German representatives in Washington were shown to be connected with these actions. On the other hand commercial and financial ties were developed through newspaper influence into deep sympathy with the Allies and a national hostility toward the invaders of Belgium. The submarine settled the matter.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

When the United States entered the war in 1917 she sought no territory. Her stated aim was to make the world safe for democracy, to defeat the enemy of free peoples. The American populace, with its sensibilities outraged, its fears and racial prejudices aroused, was eager for the fight. Factually, it was the German refusal to respect our rights as neutrals on the high seas and the actual destruction of American lives consequent upon that refusal that led to our declaration of war. A million American soldiers were in France by June of 1918. Their key victory at Saint-Mihiel in September was the prelude to Sedan on November 1 and the armistice of November 11, 1918.

4. At Versailles representatives of all the contestants sought to make peace, in an atmosphere of war weariness, emotional release for the sudden victors, magnificent resignation in the vanquished. The meeting opened amid lofty protestations of sound principle and generous intent. The famous Fourteen Points promised to guarantee the self-determination of nations, freedom of the seas, and a harmonious League of Nations. Behind the scenery the spokesmen for France, England, Italy, and Japan engaged in 'Realpolitik,' parcelling out spoils according to their secret treaties of 1915, manifesting a plainly vindictive spirit toward their conquered foe. On June 28, 1919 the Treaty of Versailles was concluded, with its Covenant of the League of Nations to maintain the new status for the future. Germany suffered serious territorial losses and agreed to disband her army and navy. Austria-Hungary was dismembered into many small and independent states. Their allies surrendered large slices of their lands to the victorious powers. A burden of impossible indemnities was imposed on Germany, adjudged the aggressor nation. Poland



THE WORLD WAR AND THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

was re-created. The League of Nations took shape to ensure a permanent, 'just' peace, and an end of secret diplomacy. It was buttressed by a World Court and a proposed international police force.

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CHAPTER LXVI

Russia in Revolution

ON NOVEMBER 6, 1917 the Bolsheviks seized Petrograd and at once began a complete political, social, and economic revolution in Russia. The event was called by Berdyaev "the end of our time." World opinion has supported that view. The revolution was indirectly a byproduct of the war. Directly it was the child of the age, though special circumstances made it appear first and most intensively in Russia.

The post-war period from 1917 to 1936 was the most revolutionary period in the history of Europe. The ravages of the war, the consequent despondency, the disillusion in the prewar system of politics and of social life, the failure of the former leadership, the sense of hopelessness induced by defeat or by the charge of guiltiness—all furnished an opportunity for the makers of revolution to overthrow their governments and attempt new régimes. The old faith in science, in economic principles, and in the lessons of past history gave way before the new leadership of the prophets and their prophetic outlines of the new life.

This abandonment of thinking and the consequent acceptance of emotional leadership came directly from the nineteenth-century philosophy of materialism. Faced by the results of the Industrial Revolution, particularly by the uncontrollable machine, men yielded to the belief that all was force and destiny and that none could hope to stem their

RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION

forward march. Schools and writers popularized the view that there is no spirit, that all is material, that man's destiny is to satisfy himself here on earth, that law means no more than physical compulsion, and that morality is an outmoded bogey of former times. Speed, comfort, advancement were the best things in the world; material happiness the purpose of life. Authority and religion were medieval, foolish, useless, and harmful. Thinking these thoughts, many people of Europe lost heart in the struggle and trial of war. The ideals that had sustained their fathers were now practically unknown to them. With their dream of an earthly paradise shattered, they fell an easy prey to soothsayers and fair promises.

Disillusioned people in Russia contrasted their lot with the luxury of the West. Poor peasants, sad factory workers, and frustrated intellectuals discovered real grounds for complaint on every side. The state church was but a part of the bureaucracy. The tsar had lost contact with his people. The nobles insisted on retaining their privileged position. The attempt of a sprawling, weakly knit empire to meet the onrush of the efficient and inspired German armies broke the spirit of soldiers who were little more than cannon fodder.

As in the French Revolution, so in Russia a new doctrine of life was proposed and secretly circulated. Persecuted by officialdom, the cells of communism multiplied and grew strong. Fearless organizers printed and spread the new gospel of freedom from all human woes. The Russian army was honeycombed by Marxian principles, and in the critical time the soldiers rebelled against their officers. They turned out

HISTORY OF EUROPE

the tsar and in his place they enthroned their master prophet, Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin).

1. Throughout the nineteenth century, protests, terrorism, secret revolutionary societies, and Nihilism spread the seeds of upheaval. A revolution in 1905-1906 proved premature, for it was poor in leadership and lacked a thorough plan of life to supplant the Russian system. From 1906 to 1917 there ensued a period of agitation and organizing. In the Duma—an imperial concession of 1905—three radical parties worked for change. The Constitutional Democratic Party, or ‘Cadets,’ aimed to remake Russia into a commonwealth like England. The Social Revolutionary Party of the peasants argued for a transfer of lands from the nobles to the small farmers. The true socialists composed the Social Democratic Party and represented the urban workingmen. They held the principles of Karl Marx, and demanded the confiscation of all private property and the management of industry and agriculture by the workers. Among them were two groups. The Mensheviks, or ‘Voice of the Minority,’ sought their purposes through education and the evolution of politics. The Bolsheviks, or ‘Voice of the Majority,’ wanted a rapid, and if necessary a violent, change to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hostile to any cooperation with the bourgeois political parties, they alone opposed the entrance of Russia into the World War.

2. During the war the evil genius of Rasputin exasperated all classes, and Germany sowed the ground behind the lines for revolution. On March 11, 1917 striking Petrograd workingmen and the members of the stubborn Duma refused to obey orders, the former to return to work, the latter to go to

RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION

their homes. On that day the tsar, returning from the front, was shunted onto a railroad siding near the capital, while the strikers won over a part of the garrison and set up a soviet (council) of soldiers and workers. The council took over the local government. Within three days the revolution triumphed in Petrograd and spread to the provinces. Autocracy collapsed, and on March 15 Nicholas II abdicated. The Duma and the Soviets agreed to the provisional government of Prince Lvov, a liberal landlord and the president of the union of provincial councils, or *zemstvos*. He formed a mixed ministry including Alexander Kerensky, the spokesman of the Petrograd Soviet. Germany assisted by sending Lenin from Switzerland in a sealed railroad car. The ministry of Lvov proclaimed liberal reforms and summoned a national assembly, although Russia, with its poor peasants and noisy workers, was totally unprepared for democracy. Soviets now arose everywhere under the incitement of German agents who urged Russia to quit the war. These soviets took control of city, farm, and army. Kerensky and Milyukov, the war minister, strove for a victorious ending of the war and failed. Lvov resigned in August of 1917, and Kerensky became a temporary dictator.

3. The Red Revolution broke out on November 6, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized Petrograd and outlawed all other parties. On the tenth the National Council of Soviets ratified the seizure, and the country silently acquiesced. Lenin, with Trotsky, Stalin, and Kalinin, began to introduce a complete system of communism. The war was abandoned in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, although much fighting remained for the Red Army. The Allies invaded Russia, and anti-Bolshevik revolutions under Denekin, Wrangel, Manner-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

heim, the Allies, and the Poles continued until 1920. In 1921 the new economic policy of Lenin appeared as a modified communism attempting to repair the economic life of the country. At the death of Lenin in 1924 Stalin ousted all competitors and became the dictator. Controlling the army, the secret service (OGPU), and the Communist Party, he has ruled since that day, endeavoring through a mixture of state capitalism and communist tactics to remake Russia and to build up a new type of communistic man. Holding the weapons of force, he has taken full advantage of the discredited oligarchy, of a vast mass of poor and simple-minded peasants, and of a million industrial workers. His doctrines are a compound of Marx and Lenin, of proletarian revolution, dictatorship, and a whole philosophy of life based on materialism and socialism. Of late he has abandoned the pure communism of Trotsky in favor of mingled imperialism and socialism. It is too early to write the story of his full international program, but the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) has played a vital part in recent world history.

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CHAPTER LXVII

Nationalist Dictators; Fascism, Naziism, Corporativism

THE Russian Revolution ushered in a series of 'red' revolutions after the World War. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey saw their radicals or socialists attempting to set up régimes similar to that of Moscow. The movements proved to be short-lived, and moderate forces gained control and attempted to rebuild the shattered lives of the defeated peoples.

The war had, however, worked a great change. The stigma of guilt lay upon the Germanic peoples after the decree of Versailles. Pride of race and culture was supplanted by national humiliation and a devastating loss of life and wealth. The war cost wrecked the national economies. Impossible reparations deepened the despondency. Central Europe lay in a state of unnatural stress, and a similar strain depressed victorious though impoverished Italy and war-torn France. Even Spain and Portugal, who had escaped the fires of war, felt its reaction in unemployment and stoppage of trade. The nations, bereft of their war-exploited wealth, could not pay the bills for imports. Staggering debts faced every belligerent country, and in their troubles the peace treaties were but palliatives.

Out of this condition of stress there came a new type of government to replace the liberalism of the nineteenth century. The nationalist dictators appeared as saviors of their

HISTORY OF EUROPE

countries from disintegration. They formulated their doctrines, adopted elaborate propaganda schemes, and created what has been called the 'party State.' Their personal political parties took over the governments and forced all citizens to embrace or at least to tolerate and cooperate with their programs. They claimed the right to rule in the name of the whole people, rather than as representatives of any dominant group. In each case they emphasized the social problem and offered their panaceas as the only possible cures for the evils inherited from their predecessors.

The social problem had grown progressively more acute as the Industrial Revolution expanded its results. Then came the war, with its fundamental dislocation of economic life. Europe had suffered no similar catastrophe since the breakup of the Roman Empire, and now the very struggle to live preoccupied the minds of statesmen. England and France had emerged from the conflict with plentiful empires, and these empires furnished an outlet for their industry and a commercial income that supported the home people despite the post-war stringency. No such trade was available to the other nations, who were now forced to devise a changed economy that would maintain them in isolation until the time when they could return to normal export production. To meet this situation three politico-economic systems were invented, the Fascist, the Nazi, and the corporative state. Italy accepted the Fascist régime after a period of turmoil. Germany became Nazi through a mixed electoral and forceful operation. Austria, Portugal, and Spain developed the corporative state after each had gone through bitter civil war.

NATIONALIST DICTATORS; FASCISM, NAZIISM, CORPORATIVISM

Through these movements the leaders succeeded in re-creating for their people a spirit and an ideal that enabled them to endure their hardships and to work earnestly to rebuild their countries.

i. Italy led the way under the direction of 'Il Duce.' Benito Mussolini (1883-) had been a journalist for the radical socialists in Italy, Switzerland, and Austria. He served in the Italian army during the World War until he was seriously wounded in 1917. Back on his newspaper, the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, he now condemned pacifism, defeatism, and the menace of Russian Bolshevism. His followers increased among the younger war veterans. For them he began to form clubs, or *fasci*, the Fascisti wearing black shirts, using the Roman symbol of the *fasces*, and hailing their chief with the old Roman salute. They adopted a stirring student song of the war days, the "Giovinezza." Rising enthusiasm heralded the perfecting of their organization, and in October of 1922 they held a congress in Naples. Mussolini proclaimed: "Either the government will be given to us or we shall march on Rome." The decadent government melted away. The army stood aside. The king summoned Mussolini to form a government, and a terrified Parliament gave him dictatorial powers for one year. To date he has not relinquished them. With masterly hand he reinvigorated the Italian spirit. Agriculture and industry improved. Railroads ran their trains on time, and the police kept the peace assiduously. Men and women in all walks of life pursued the Fascist ideal of obedience, discipline, and work. A reformed army was tried out in the campaigns of Ethiopia and Spain. Schools once more took up religious teaching, and the great rift in Italian life between the government and the Vatican was healed in a notable

HISTORY OF EUROPE

treaty. The régime became solidly entrenched, and, according to many, solidly popular.

2. In Italy Fascism revolted against the internal corroding of Masonry and a weak government, and of widespread fear that the national economic forces could not support the nation. In Germany the rebellion arose against the post-war German degradation. The war had ruined German economy, and now antagonism was turned against the Versailles treaty and all that it meant for the country: a humiliated national spirit, defense weapons forbidden, the profits of industry dried up by the onerous reparations, colonies removed, and a terrific pressure placed upon a people accustomed to be at the head of European life. This national antagonism was marshaled into a fighting force by Adolf Hitler (1889-), who in 1923 attempted at Munich a *coup d'état* and the establishment of his national socialist system. In 1933 his party received a majority of the electoral vote and Hitler took office as chancellor, a position he has not vacated. In 1934 he removed by a 'purge' many hostile opponents and competitors. Then he proceeded with his avowed program to rehabilitate the German spirit, the German army, the German economic life. Unlike Mussolini, who sought to express in his dictatorship the innermost aspirations of his people, Hitler and Nazism developed in *Mein Kampf* a partisan, bellicose, and pagan idea of what was and is the Teutonic culture. Germany applauded his revival of normal human self-respect within the nation. It did not approve but rather feared the outcome of his enmities and his ambitions.

3. Austria, Portugal, and Spain set up new constitutions, all in some way modeled on the Fascist notion of national corporations. They were an effort to uproot both the communist

NATIONALIST DICTATORS; FASCISM, NAZIISM, CORPORATIVISM

threat and the liberal tradition, and at the same time to provide for a sound national spirit and the livelihood of their peoples. Seipel and Dollfuss in Austria, Salazar in Portugal, Franco in Spain led the movements. In Spain the fight went on against a leftist revolution, which was met by a nationalist rising with the support of the German and Italian dictators. The ideas embodied in these three new constitutions were corporatist and definitely Christian. They sought to revive social stability after the upheavals of the previous century.

4. The causes of World War II will receive the attention of future students. It is enough here to indicate that the dictatorships of both Italy and Germany displayed definitely imperialistic tendencies. The former took over Ethiopia in 1935. The latter engineered the occupation of the Rhineland and of Austria in 1936, and of Czechoslovakia early in 1939. The invasion of Poland, September 1, 1939, opened the general European war. It became a world war when, on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor.

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CHAPTER LXVIII

The Lateran Accord of 1929

THE religious situation has been a fundamental source of social instability in modern Europe. The social problem, the new science, and the political movements of the nineteenth century all produced serious impacts on belief and worship; and the resulting laicism, indifference, and militant antipathies divided and depressed the spirit of the European peoples. The Catholic Church, as the largest and oldest religious body in Europe, played its part through all the modern turmoil; and as it had suffered severely in the time of Pius IX, so under the leadership of Leo XIII and Pius XI it stood as the champion of peace, public morality, and sound social organization.

The papacy is vitally important in European history. In medieval times and earlier it was the great inspiration of a rising culture. The epoch of Avignon and the Great Western Schism found it shrunken in political importance, and the religious revolution of the sixteenth century removed many from its obedience and public influence. It was definitely on the defensive in the era of the French Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century, until the revolutionary temper spent itself. Then came the reaction against the loud claims of the new science, of liberalism, and of the Industrial Revolution, and mankind began to doubt their universal values. At that point a remarkable man, Leo XIII, occupied the papal throne, and he was followed by a series of eminent

THE LATERAN ACCORD OF 1929

pontiffs. These popes made Rome stand forth once more as the inspiration of the workingman, the poor, and the perplexed, as also of scholars, statesmen, and others who noted with misgivings the rising tide of atheism in the modern world.

There was, however, a paradox in the Roman position. In 1870 the Italian kingdom had forcibly taken Rome and the Papal States, and reduced the pope to an abject position. Made to choose between the status of a virtual chaplain of Italy or of a prisoner in the Vatican, Pius IX accepted the only possible alternative and voluntarily retired within the walls of the one property which the government would not touch. Succeeding pontiffs maintained the same status, but by so doing they placed a severe handicap on the national spirit of the Italian people, who loved their Church yet sought to support the national government. The arrangement likewise limited the freedom and prestige of the papacy in its dealings with foreign states and peoples. During the World War the opposing parties were inclined to consider Benedict XV a partisan of one side or the other. His residence on Italian soil invited criticism, no matter how impartially he might conduct himself.

The resolution of this unnatural situation was due to the statesmanship of Mussolini and Pius XI. After long discussions they finally agreed to a complete and effective settlement in the Treaty of the Lateran. At once the whole atmosphere of Italian public life was cleared. The populace could now be both Catholic and Italian without scruple. Moreover, Pius XI went on to become a dominant figure in the theater

HISTORY OF EUROPE

of world events. The settlement has a large bearing on contemporary history.

1. The juridical position of the Papal States never changed from the independent sovereignty enjoyed by the popes since A.D. 500. They had a title antedating that of all other rulers, and they had enjoyed continual possession throughout fourteen centuries. The successive pontiffs knew, and asserted, their need of freedom from the control and influence of any other sovereignty if they were to direct the affairs of a catholic church and give their single-hearted service to the world. They must be supra-national. On the other hand, despite any irregularities in the procedure, Rome had become the capital of a national state, and ordinary citizens felt that Rome was a part of Italy: Yet the Law of Guarantees, offering protection to Pius IX in 1870, had never been recognized by the pontiff because of its injustice and its failure to guarantee the independence proper to an ecclesiastical ruler. For a time Italians were forbidden by the Church to hold office in their government. As the years passed this rule was modified by Leo XIII and Pius X. Nevertheless the cause of disunion was constantly present.

2. Such was the situation when Pius XI and Mussolini both took office in the same year of 1922. Reversing the anti-clerical policies followed in Italy ever since the time of Cavour, Il Duce and the Fascists enlisted the support of the Catholic masses. Mussolini understood that the Roman question must be settled if he would have their support, and he sounded out the attitude of the Vatican. Pius XI replied in a friendly manner. Though not a Fascist, he saw the need of national unity and of an unruffled religious life among his Italian

'THE LATERAN ACCORD OF 1929

people. Long and delicate negotiations finally issued in the treaty, which was signed in 1929 by Mussolini for the government, by Cardinal Gasparri for the Vatican.

3. By the treaty Italy agreed to recognize the temporal sovereignty of the popes over the tiny Vatican State and a few small properties elsewhere. The Vatican in turn gave formal recognition to the Kingdom of Italy and removed all prohibitions on participation in the Italian government. All other claims were surrendered in and beyond Rome, and the pope promised to "remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between nations . . . unless the contending parties make a joint appeal to his mission of peace." At the same time a concordat was concluded for the settlement of ecclesiastical rights and the regularizing of the place of canon law in Italian affairs. Bishops were not to be appointed without consulting the government. Religious instruction would be given in all state schools. The Church might engage in social work but not in political activities, nor might any ecclesiastic belong to a political party.

The signing of the conventions introduced an utterly unmodern yet amazing series of events. The press of all countries, that very true reflector of interests throughout the world, began to print in full the decrees, allocutions, and encyclicals of the pope. The papal radio station, under the inventive genius and careful guidance of Marconi, rose to first-class rating, and in 1931, when Pius XI delivered his famous letter on the working classes (*Quadragesimo Anno*), he had an audience for his voice round the entire globe. Throughout his reign this attention was constant, and his obsequies were listened to with respect by millions. The election of his successor brought together the utmost concentration of press and radio.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

Evidently the world wanted to know what the pope was doing. It seemed as though men looked to him to solve the modern dilemma, the repetition of that fundamental European struggle between total absolutism and liberty with justice for minorities. The climax in the fight had not yet been reached, but its mounting importance was evident and there was no doubt on which side the popular sympathies lay. The pope represented for all the champion of rights that were antecedent to any gift of a paternalistic state, and aligned against the pope the peoples clearly saw the descendant of the emperor of old. The election of Cardinal Pacelli, the secretary of state of his predecessor, was taken by the press everywhere to signify the independence of the Church from the threats and dictation of the totalitarian state.

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CHAPTER LXIX

Europe and the World

THIS story might be brought to its close with the ideas expressed by Oswald Spengler in his *Decline of the West*, or with another of those sad pictures of the past, present, and future that have appeared since the World War. The business of history, however, is not prophecy but the narrative of what mankind has done in its recorded life. How, then, has Europe affected the rest of the world during historic times?

Writers and publicists are inclined to picture recent events more vividly than those of earlier times, somewhat as an imperfect camera lens fails to give perspective to the photograph. They thus tend to magnify the faults that are close up, the strains and stresses of our era, particularly the newer tendencies in thought and conduct. In this way, indeed, they produce interesting philosophies of life, though these may well be quite distorted and ill-proportioned.

A survey of European history as a whole can correct this defect. In the long view, it becomes clear that each century brought forth its striking changes, its remarkable leaders, its new conditions of life in the ever-moving, always continuous, but constantly shifting stream of human existence. Seeing it whole is the best check on a tendency to bemoan or exaggerate current causes of dismay, the best incentive to rouse wonder at the marvelous powers of man, and the best way to understand his place in the order and plan of the uni-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

verse. It enables us to deal kindly with ignorance, to applaud fortitude under trying conditions, to realize the limitations of men, and to learn from the lives of others how to direct our own lives.

In this long view one sees that in the scheme of history the continent of Europe has fulfilled a notable mission. It is very true to say that the world has been Europeanized. The work proceeded slowly, step by step, for generations. In time the pace accelerated, and the greater part has been done since Columbus discovered America. Nevertheless the processes that prepared Europe for her dominant world work began in the remotest times, and her movement toward expansion can be traced from the days of the Trojan War.

First came the populating of the Continent, and the strange experience of the glacial period. Soon afterward Europe began to borrow from the culture of Egypt and Mesopotamia through the great carrier peoples of Crete and Phoenicia. They appear to have given to Europe the rudiments of civilization: the alphabet, the wheel, coinage, organized government. The law and religion of the Hebrews, and especially the Christian religion, are among the fundamental gifts of Asia.

Endowed with this heritage, Europe went on to form her own civilization and to propagate it on all sides. The early Greeks sent colonies to Asia Minor and to various sites on the western Mediterranean. In time the unique Alexander conquered and spread the Greek language, philosophy, literature, and science throughout the Orient.

When Rome arose she took over much that was Greek in

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

modes of thought and expression. She then built up her own typical scheme of life. Law and government were her special genius, but beneath that superstructure she asserted her root principles of respect for marriage, trust in promises and contracts, honor for courts and justice, and belief in the permanence of institutions because they were founded, not on a man, but on a people. As she broadened her imperial administration she continued her ancient policy of accepting foreigners and barbarians into her territories and into equality of civil status with her own citizens. Finally she accepted the Christian religion and carried it to the limits of the earth.

A great change occurred when Rome was removed from the control of an absolutist emperor who had become an oriental potentate and a deified master. Rome did not fall, nor did she fail. Her upper classes separated themselves from the land, and her pagan religion vanished. Yet the people close to the soil carried on. They preserved the republican culture, and on the basis of Christianity they remade ancient Europe. The African provinces of the Empire were overrun by the Mohammedans, and the eastern quarter, broken off in the fourth century, attempted to continue with its conservative and moribund inheritance of a deified absolutism. The western half was in vigorous life, and the time came when, through her daughter nations, she poured out onto Asia, Africa, and the New World the lasting culture that she had given to Europe.

The Middle Ages were the effort of Rome and the Catholic Church to forge a civilization out of raw feudalism and the barbarian elements that had brought new blood into the

HISTORY OF EUROPE

provinces. These provinces came to local independence. The Holy Roman Empire held many of them together during their critical years, and monasticism gave its powerful assistance to the fashioning of the young societies. Those were the ages of building. Europe reorganized itself and developed its guild association, its schools and universities, its hospitals and welfare institutions, and its influential religious orders. Kings subjected the nobles as time elapsed; and towns with their trade, wealth, and great men replaced the manors as centers of life. The opportunity of peace and broader knowledge led to the Renaissance, the flowering of medieval culture. Then at the critical moment individualism stood up to claim its special rights, and the critics of the past adopted their Humanistic attitude. In the century most marked by fault-finding and splendor, luxury and poverty, the religious revolutions burst forth and left a divided Europe, but not before Roman Europe had sent her adventurous sons to open a new field for her civilizing endeavors. Romanized Spain equaled her parent in the thoroughness and permanence of her cultural expansion. New France, New England, and other duplications of European life were set up on the western shores of the Atlantic, and many native races accepted European manners and the thought of the European mind.

A striking fact of history is this rapid Europeanization of the world after Columbus. The arts and languages of the old countries became a part of the transoceanic life. The blood of Europe mingled with the stream of non-European races wherever the Iberians took hold, for the executives of Portugal and Spain sought to preserve everything of value in

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

their barbarian provinces. When later the colonies declared their independence, they established political régimes that were based on European models, and they insisted that the Catholic religion be retained inviolate wherever it had not been checked by the sixteenth-century revolution.

The last three centuries have witnessed the penetration of Europe into Asia, Africa, and Oceanica. Accompanying the conquerors were the typical European philosophy and economic thought, social ways, language, business methods and educational ideals, pure and applied science, religious belief and practice. If sometimes the native peoples retained their political independence, they still undertook to imitate the European mode of living. The hub of trade, banking, industry, world ownings, and world control remains in the small continent to the northwest of the Asiatic mass. The dominant mind and guiding leadership are European. In a word, Europe has been the dynamic of world history.

INDEX

- Aachen, 100
 Abassids, 94
 Abelard, 163
 Abingdon, 84
 Abraham, 8
 Absolutism, Alexandrian, 19; English, 195, 257; French, 136, 176, 194; German, 128, 196; medieval, 167; modern, 167, 192, 196, 217; of Frederick I, 130; Renaissance, 179; Roman, 42, 88, 112, 130, 136
 Abu-Bekr, 93-94
 Abu-Ubaida, 93
 Abul-Abbas, 94
 Achaeans League, 31
 Achaeans, 11
 Acre, siege of, 290
 Act of Restitution, 230
 Actium, battle of, 33, 38
 Acts of the Apostles, 51
 Adrianople, battle of, 61
 Aediles, 28
 Aegospotami, battle of, 15
 Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II), 184
Aeneid, 24, 182
 Aetius, 60, 62
 Africa, 32, 33, 34, 51, 55, 59, 62, 68, 94, 98, 324, 326, 327
 Age, Golden, in Roman literature, 41; of Greece, 14; of Louis XIV, 242-46; of Spain, 194; Iron, 23; Metal, 7; of Pericles, 14; of Richelieu, 222-26; Quaternary, 7; Stone, 7; Tertiary, 7
 Agincourt, battle of, 172, 175
 Aidan, St., 84
 Aistulf, 89
 Alamania, 90
 Alani, 61
 Alaric, 62, 72
 Albert of Brandenburg, 247
 Albertus Magnus, St., 162, 164
 Alcibiades, 15
 Alcuin, 100
 Aldhelm, 104
 Alemani, 60
 Alembert, Jean D', 274
 Alexander I, of Russia, 294
 Alexander V, Spanish puppet pope, 170
 Alexander VI, Pope, 185
 Alexander of Hales, 163
 Alexander the Great, 9, 13, 15, 17-21, 30, 94
 Alexandria, 20, 55, 68, 93
 Alexandrian Empire, 19-20
 Alfred the Great, 105-06, 158
 Allies (World War), 334, 342
 Alsace, 245
 Alsace-Lorraine, 329
 Alva, Duke of, 220
 Amalfi, Constitution of, 130
 Ambrose, St., 52, 72
 America, discovery and settlement of, 187-91, 193, 217, 220-21, 232, 237-41
 American Revolution, 260, 278
 Amiens, Peace of, 290
 Anarchists, 310
 Anaxagoras, 14
 Ancus Martius, 25
 Andrew II, of Hungary, 121
 Angevin dynasty, 125, 172, 173
 Angles, 58, 102
 Anglican church, 206-10. *See also* Established church
 Anglo-Saxons, 84, 86, 104, 124
 Anjou, 125
 Anne (Queen of England), 259
 Anne of Austria, 244
 Anselm, St., 163
 Anti-clericalism, 313-15
 Antigonus, 19
 Antioch, 20, 68
 Antiochus III, 31
Antonine Digest, 69
 Antoninus Pius, 51
 Antony, Mark, 38

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Apollonia, 30
 Apostles, 46, 48-51
 Apostles' Creed, 51
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 135, 161-65
 Aquitaine, 90, 124
 Arabia, 91-95
 Aragon, 134, 188
 Arcadius, 67
 Architecture, 123, 147, 253-54; Baroque, 254; Gothic, 123, 147, 254; Norman, 147; Persian, 94
 Argentina, 295
 Arian Christianity, 67
 Arian heresy, 50, 56, 66
 Aristotle, 13, 15, 18, 163
 Arius, 50
 Armada. *See* Spanish Armada
 Armstrong family, 329
 Arouet, François Marie de'Voltaire, 274
 Art, Renaissance, 180-81
 Asia, 7-8, 61, 324, 325-26
 Asia Minor, 18, 55, 82
 Assembly, French, 288; Roman, 37
 Assyrian Empire, 8
 Astronomy, 20
 Athanasius, St., 52
 Athens, 13, 14-15, 17-18, 31, 55
 Attila, 62, 67
 Augsburg, 180; Peace of, 196, 200, 228-29
 Augusti, 43
 Augustine, St., 2, 52, 71-75, 76, 132, 135, 161, 200
 Augustine of Canterbury, St., 58, 79, 102, 104
 Augustulus. *See* Romulus Augustulus
 Augustus, Octavian, 38, 40, 41, 44, 59
 Aulard, François V. A., 277
 Aurelian, 42
 Austerlitz, battle of, 291
 Australia, 260, 327
 Austria, 108, 130, 251, 284, 290, 293-94, 296, 305, 306, 333, 343, 344, 346-47
 Austria-Hungary, 329, 336
 Avars, 86, 90
 Averroes, 163
 Avignon captivity, 166-69, 348
 Babeuf, François, 310
 Babylonia, 8
 Babylonian captivity, 8
 Bach, Johann Sebastian, 253, 321
 Baghdad, 120
 Bakunin, Mikhail, 310
 Balkan wars, 331
 Balkans, 84, 329, 331, 333
 Balzac, Honoré de, 320
 Bañez, Domingo, 256
 Bank of France, 291
 Barbarian invasions, 58-64, 87, 89-90, 110-11
 Barcelona, 90, 180, 187
 Baronius, Cesare, 186
 Basil, St., 52, 82
 Batory, Stephen, 247, 249
 Battle of the Nations, 292, 293
 Bavaria, 107, 129
 Bavarians, 90
 Bayle, Pierre, 273
 Beauharnais, Josephine, 290
 Beaumont, Francis, 254
 Bec, 111
 Beccadelli, Antonio, 184
 Becket, St. Thomas à, 125
 Bede, Venerable, 84, 104
 Beethoven, Ludwig von, 321
 Belgium, 278, 296, 333
 Belisarius, 67-68, 69
 Bellarmine, St. Robert, 234
 Belloc, Hilaire, 277
 Benedict, St., 77-78, 83
 Benedict XIII, French puppet pope, 170, 171
 Benedict XV, Pope, 349
 Benedictines, 78, 83, 104, 105, 115
 Benefices, 99-100
 Bergson, Henri, 321
 Berlioz, Hector, 321
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 135, 147

INDEX

- Bernhardi, Friedrich von, 329
 Beza, Theodore, 202, 205
 Bible, 8, 49, 180, 185
 Bill of Rights, 235, 257, 259
 Biscop, Benedict, 104
 Bishops, duties of, 49-50; of Rome, 66
 Bismarck, Otto von, 305, 329, 330-31
 Black death, 169, 173
 Blanc, Louis, 310
 Blessed Virgin Mary, 45, 66
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 178-79
 Bohemian revolt, 229
 Bohemond of Otranto, 120
 Boleyn, Anne, 207
 Bolívar, Simón, 295
 Bologna, University of, 70, 157
 Bolsheviks, 340
 Bolsheviks, 338, 341
 Bonaparte, Joseph, 291
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 129, 260, 277, 287, 288-92, 294, 304, 305
 Bonaventure, St., 164
 Boniface, St., 89, 105
 Boniface VIII, Pope, 117, 135, 136, 167-68
 Boniface IX, Pope, 170
 Borodin, Alexander, 321
 Borodino, battle of, 292
 Bossuet, Jacques, 244
 Boufflers, Louis François, 244
 Boule, 15
 Bourgeoisie, 173, 264, 273
 Bouvines, battle of, 124
 Boyle, Robert, 255
 Brandenburg, 108, 130
 Brazil, 189, 191, 296
 Brest-Litovsk, 335, 341
 Brethren of the Common Life, 212
Breviarium Alaricianum, 69
 Brewer, John Sherren, 206
 Bright, John, 310
 Brissot de Warville, Jean, 285
 Britain, 37, 42, 58. *See also* England, Great Britain
 Brittany, 173
 Browning, Robert, 320
 Bruges, 180
 Bruno, St., 147
 Brunswick, Duke of, 284
 Buffon, Georges de, 273
 Bulgaria, 134-35, 343
 Bunsen, Robert von, 320
 Burgundians, 60, 62
 Burgundy, 90, 113, 173, 175
 Burke, Edmund, 277, 284, 320
 Burleigh, Lord (William Cecil), 206, 209
 Byzantine Empire. *See* Eastern Empire
 Byzantium, 90, 91
 Cabinet, English, 259
 Cabral, Pedro Alvarez, 189
 Cadillac, Antoine Lamothe, 240
 Cadiz, 222
 Caesar, Julius, 37-38, 59
 Caesar, title of, 43
 Calais, 173, 175; Peace of, 173
 Calderon de la Barca, Pedro, 254
 Caligula, Caius Caesar, 41
 Calvin, John, 185, 202-05, 206
 Calvinism, 202-05, 228, 231
 Calvinists, 205, 228-29, 233. *See also* Presbyterians, Huguenots, Dutch Calvinists, Puritans
 Cambridge, University of, 159
 Campo Formio, treaty of, 290
 Canada, 260, 326, 327
 Canning, George, 293
 Canossa, 116
 Canterbury, 84
 Cape Colony, 326
 Capet, Hugh, 107, 109-110, 152
 Capetian family, 110
 Capitalism, 298-99, 302
 Capuchins, 214, 215
 Caraffa, Giovanni Pietro, 213
 Carbonari, 304
 Caribbean islands, 238-39, 326
 Carnot, Lazare, 286
 Carolingian Empire, 96-101, 107

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Carolingians, 89-90, 96-101, 107
Carter, Howard, 10
Carthage, 8-9, 13, 24, 27, 29-32, 94
Carthusians, 147
Casimir V (John II), of Poland, 249
Cassiodorus, 83
Castile, 188
Cataline, 34
Catherine II, of Russia, 269
Catherine of Aragon, 207
Catholic Church, and education, 157-59; beginnings of, 46, 48-52; evils in, 212-13; foundation of, 45-46; Humanism and, 182, 185; in England, 104-05, 123, 135-36, 169, 206-07, 209; in France, 194, 225, 274, 281-82; in Germany, 116-17, 169, 228-29, 231; in Ireland, 83; in Italy, 84, 89, 306-07, 348-52; in Middle Ages, 112-17, 132-36, 139, 355-56; in Roman Empire, 53-56, 63, 66-67, 69; in Spain, 49, 84; influence of, 46, 63-64, 355-56; liturgy of, 181; organization of, 48-52; reforms in, 212-16; revolt from, 197-205; spread of, 53-56, 66-67, 69. *See also* Christianity, Church and State, Crusades, Monasticism, Religious orders
Catinat, Nicolas, 244
Cato, Marcus Porcius, 31
Cavaliers, 233
Cavour, Camillo di, 305, 306
Cecil, William (Lord Burleigh), 206, 209
Censores, 28
Central Powers (World War), 333-34
Centuriate assembly, 28
Centuriators of Magdeburg, 200
Cervantes, Miguel, 255
Chæronea, battle of, 18
Chalcedon, Council of, 66
Châlons, 62
Champeaux, William of, 158, 163
Champlain, Samuel, 225
Charlemagne, 90, 96-101, 107, 113, 128, 158; and education, 100, 158; empire of, 96-101
Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor), 189, 193, 195, 200, 213
Charles I, of England, 234-35
Charles II, of England, 235
Charles V, of France, 174-75
Charles VII, of France, 175
Charles X, of France, 296
Charles I, of Spain. *See* Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor)
Charles III, of Spain, 270
Charles IV, of Spain, 270
Charles IX, of Sweden, 249
Charles XII, of Sweden, 249, 250
Charles Gustavus, 249
Charles Martel, 89, 94, 99
Charles the Bald, 101
Charles the Simple, 109, 122
Charters, town, 151-52; university, 156
Chartists, 309
Chartres, 100
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith, 321
China, 9, 82, 94, 120, 325
Chinese-Japanese War, 325
Chivalry, 188
Chosroes, of Persia, 68
Christ. *See* Jesus Christ
Christian IV, of Denmark, 229
Christian Humanism, 183, 184
Christian Republic of Europe, 170
Christianity, and barbarians, 58, 60, 61, 63, 87; and social problems, 311-12; hostility toward, 313-14; in America, 188, 190; in Middle Ages, 76-85, 102, 104-05, 110; in Roman Empire, 44-56, 63-64, 66-67, 72-75, 355. *See also* Catholic Church, Church and State
Chrysoloras, Emanuel, 184
Church. *See* Catholic Church
Church and State, conflicts between, 109, 112-17, 132-36, 166-71, 206-10, 281-82, 314-15, 348-52

INDEX

- Church law, development of, 69
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 24, 182
Cimbri, 36, 58
Cisalpine Gaul, 37, 38
Cismontaines, 157
Cistercians, 147
City of God, 45, 71-75, 77, 132
City-states, Greek, 13, 17, 19, 30, 31; Roman, 22-23, 25, 27, 30
Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 281, 283, 314
Civil war in Carolingian Empire, 100-01; in England, 125, 195, 235, 243; in France, 175, 194-95, 223, 225, 286; in Germany, 60, 129, 229, 244; in Italy, 113-14, 129; in Rome, 36-38; in Spain, 343, 344-45, 347. *See also* French Revolution, Russian Revolution
Civitas sine suffragio, 29
Claudius, 41, 42, 54, 58
Clement I, Pope, 50
Clement V, Pope, 168
Clement VII, Pope, 213
Clement VII, French puppet pope, 170
Clergy, status of in France, 264, 265
Clermont, Council of, 119
Clive, Robert, 260
Clodius, Publius, 34
Clovis, 63, 66, 87
Cluny, 114-15, 119
Cnossos, 11
Cnut, 122
Coalition, First, 286, 290; Second, 290; Third, 291
Cobden, Richard, 310, 324
Code of Hammurabi, 8
Code of Napoleon, 291
Codex Prisca, 69
Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 244, 245
Colonii, 42, 57, 99, 140
Colonies, Dutch, 239; English, 232-33, 234, 238-39, 240, 260-61, 326-27, 344; French, 239-40, 344; Greek, 19, 354; Portuguese, 189, 237, 295-96; Roman, 30; Spanish, 188-91, 193-94, 220-21, 237, 238-39, 295-96
Columbus, Christopher, 188, 189-90
Comitia, 27, 28, 29
Comitia Centuriata, 26, 40
Comitia Tributa, 28, 40
Commendation, 100
Committee of Public Safety, 286
Commodus, Lucius, 42
Communism, 310-11, 339, 342
Communist Manifesto, 310-11
Communist Party, 342
Comte, Auguste, 310
Concert of Europe, 295, 328
Conciliar movement, 170
Condé, Prince de, 244
Condorcet, Marquis de, 274, 285, 288
Confessions, of St. Augustine, 72
Congress, of Berlin, 328; of Corinth, 14; of Tropau, 295; of Vienna, 293-95
Conrad I, of Germany, 108
Conrad II, of Germany, 113, 128, 129
Conrad III, of Germany, 121, 129, 130
Constance, Council of, 170-71
Constantine, 55, 57, 69
Constantinople, 57, 63, 65, 67, 110, 120; Second Council of, 66
Constitution, of Roman Republic, 28-29; of 1791 (French), 281, 283, 288
Constitutional Democratic Party, 340
Consuls, 27, 28
Contarini, Gasparo, 213
Continental system, 291
Conversion, of America, 188, 190, 221; of barbarians, 60, 79; of England, 79, 84, 105; of Franks, 79, 87; of Germany, 83, 84, 89; of Ireland, 83, 84; of Normans, 110; of Poland, 249; of Roman world, 53-56, 63, 67; of Russia, 84, 247; of St. Paul, 51
Cook, James, 260, 327
Copernicus, Nicholas, 186, 255
Corcyra, 30

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Cordeliers, 285
 Cordova, 94. *See also* Gonsalvo de Cordova, Hernandez
 Corinth, 14, 31; Congress of, 14
Corpus Juris Canonici, 70
Corpus Juris Civilis, 69
 Corsica, 30
 Corson, Robert de, 158
 Cortés, Hernando, 190
 Cossacks, 249
 Council, Lateran, 214; of Chalcedon, 66; of Clermont, 119; of Constance, 170-71; of Constantinople, 66; of Ephesus, 66; of Jerusalem, 51; of Nicea, 66, 67; Vatican, 314
 Crassus, Marcus Licinius, 37
 Crécy, battle of, 172, 173
 Cremona, 30
 Crete, 11, 24
 Cromwell, Oliver, 235
 Cromwell, Thomas, 208
 Croyland, 84
 Crusades, 118-21, 157, 177; influence of on education, 157; results of, 121
 Culture, Arabian, 94-95; Aztec, 190; Catholic, 46, 56; definition of, 7; Eastern, 120; English, 104, 106; French, 242-43; Greek, 19, 20; Hebrew, 8; Japanese, 326; Magdalenian, 7; medieval, 53, 86, 144-48; of Alfred the Great, 106; of Lake Dwellers, 7; of Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, 243, 252-56; preservation of ancient, 63; Roman, 22, 27, 39, 57, 65; Spanish, 188-89, 190-91
Curia regis, 123
Curiae, 25
 Cusa, Nicholas of, 212
 Cynocephalae, battle of, 31
 Cyprian of Carthage, St., 55, 66, 82
 Cyprus, 14, 94
 Cyril, St., 86
 Cyril of Alexandria, St., 52
 Cyril of Jerusalem, St., 52
 Czechs, 229, 247
 Dacia, 60
 Dagobert, King of the Franks, 87, 89
 D'Alembert. *See* Alembert, Jean D'
 Dalton, John, 320
 Damon, 14
 Dandolo, Enrico, 121
 Danelaw, 105
 Danes, 101, 105-06
 Dante Alighieri, 178, 182, 304
 Danton, Georges Jacques, 284, 285, 294
 Darius, 13
 Dark Ages, 63-64, 81, 86-101
 Darwin, Charles, 316
Das Kapital, 311
 David, 8
 Davis, John, 240
 Deacons, 49
 Decemviri, 28
 Declaration of Gallican Liberties, 268; of Independence, 278; of Pillnitz, 284; of the Rights of Man, 278, 281
Decline of the West, 353
 "De Corona," 17
Decretals, 157
Defense of the Seven Sacraments, 213
Defensor Pacis, 179
 Delcassé, Théophile, 331
 De Maistre. *See* Maistre, Joseph de
 Democracy, beginning of, 97; broadening of, 313, 329; Catholic Church and, 97; effect of upon education, 318; English, 125; Greek, 12, 17; in Carolingian times, 97; in monasteries, 78, 84; medieval, 2, 112, 218; Napoleon and, 289; Roman, 33, 39, 44; Russian, 341
 Demosthenes, 17
 Denekin, Anton, 341
 Denmark, 135, 196
 Descartes, René, 255, 272, 273
Descent of Man, 316
 Despots, enlightened, 267-71
 De Tocqueville. *See* Tocqueville, Alexis Charles de

INDEX

- D'Holbach. *See* Holbach, Paul d'
Dialogues, 79
 Díaz, Bartholomeu, 189
 Dickens, Charles, 320
 Dictators, nationalist, 343-47
 Diderot, Denis, 268, 272, 274
 Dioceses, 49
 Diocletian, 43, 55
 Dionysius Exiguus, 70
 Diplomacy, French, 244, 245; nineteenth-century, 330, 331; Norman, 123
 Directory, 290
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 327
Divine Comedy, 178
 Dollfuss, Engelbert, 347
 Domesday Book, 123
 Dominic, St., 147
 Dominicans, 147, 158, 162, 190, 255
Don Quixote, 255
 Doppler, Christian, 320
 Dorians, 11, 24
 Drake, Francis, 195, 210, 221
 Drama, 55, 254, 321
 Dual Alliance, 331
 Dubois, Pierre, 168
 Du Guesclin, Bertrand, 174, 194
 Duma, 340, 341
 Dumas, Alexandre, 320
 Dumouriez, Charles François, 285, 286
 Duns Scotus, John, 159
 Du Pont family, 329
 Dutch. *See* Holland
 Dutch Calvinists, 205
 Dutch East India Company, 239
 East Anglia, 103
 East Franks, 107
 East Goths. *See* Ostrogoths
 East India Company, 233, 327
 East Indies, 191, 237
 Eastern Empire, 62, 65-69, 77, 96, 120
 Eastmark, 108
 Edict, of Milan, 55; of Nantes, 194, 222, 225
 Edred, King of Anglo-Saxons, 105
 Education, Alfred the Great and, 158; Charlemagne and, 100; Christian, 55, 56; English, 158, 209; French, 158; Greek, 15; in nineteenth century, 318-19; Jesuits and, 216, 243, 269; monastic, 78, 83, 84, 104; Napoleon and, 291; Normans and, 111; religious orders and, 243; university, 155-59, 179
 Edward I, of England, 121
 Edward III, of England, 134, 173, 174
 Edward VI, of England, 195, 208, 209
 Edward, Prince of Wales (Black Prince), 173
 Edward the Confessor, St., 122
 Egbert, King of West Saxons, 103
 Egypt, 9-10, 14, 19, 34, 94; Church in, 49, 82; conquest of, 18, 40, 41, 93, 327
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, 124
 Elizabeth of England, 195, 206, 208, 209-10, 234
 Empire, Alexandrian, 18-21; Assyrian, 8; Athenian, 14-15; Carolingian, 96-101, 108; Eastern, 62, 65-68, 77, 96, 120; Frankish, 88, 90, 91; Holy Roman, 108-09, 113, 128-36, 147, 195-96, 200, 227-31, 270, 289, 291, 303, 356; Persian, 93; Roman, 1, 20, 39-45, 57-58, 63, 67, 86, 182; Western, 57, 59, 62, 63-64, 65, 67, 76, 81, 86
 Encomienda system, 190
 Encyclopedists, 273-75, 283
 Engels, Frederick, 311
 England, before the conquest, 102-06; Church in, 79, 84, 104-05, 134, 135-36, 169, 206-07, 209; colonies of, 232-33, 234, 238-39, 240-41, 260-61, 326-27, 344; feudalism in, 103-04, 123, 124-25, 142; in China, 325; in Hundred Years' War, 172-76; in modern times, 195, 257-61, 267, 270, 331; in World War, 333, 344; In-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- dustrial Revolution in, 300-02; monasteries in, 79, 84, 104-05, 206, 208-09; Napoleon and, 291; Norman conquest of, 111, 122-26; Restoration in, 259; Stuarts in, 232-36; Tudors in, 195
Enlightened despots, 267-71
Ennius, Quintus, 31
Entente Cordiale, 331
Ephesus, Council of, 66
Epidamnus, 30
Epistles, 45, 49, 51
Equality, doctrine of, 278
Equites, 36, 38, 40
Erasmus, Desiderius, 184, 185
Eretria, 14
Established church, 209, 233. *See also* Anglican church
Estates General, 174, 223, 224, 279-80
Ethelbert, King of Kent, 79, 104
Etruscan Rome, 27
Etruscans, 24-26
Euboeans, 24
Eugene III, Pope, 135
Europe, Christianization of, 44-45, 53-58, 66-67; effect of on world, 353-57; expansion of, 237-41; nationalization of, 192-96, 247-51, 303-07; physiography of, 6; Romanized, 27, 39-43; secularization of, 262-65, 272-76
Eusebius, 49
Evolution, 316

Fabius Pictor, Quintus, 31
Factory system, 300-01, 309
Farnese, Alessandro, 213
Fascism, 345-46
Fathers of the Church, 45, 52
Feodor I, of Russia, 248
Ferdinand II, of Germany, 229
Ferdinand V, of Spain, 188, 194
Ferdinand VII, of Spain, 295
Ferrara, 179
Feudalism, abolition of, 130, 152, 281, 291; and the Church, 100, 113-15, 129, 133-35; and the popes, 129, 133-35; as cause of Hundred Years' War, 172-73; decline of, 175; effect of on towns, 149-50, 151-52; in England, 103-04, 124-25, 142; in Germany, 113, 129, 130; in Italy, 113, 129-30; meaning of, 139-42; Norman, 111, 123; origin of, 85, 99-100, 139-40
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 304
Fifth Lateran Council, 214
First Coalition, 286, 290
First International, 311
Fiscus privatus, 40
Five Good Emperors, 41
Flacius Illyricus, 202
Flamininus, Titus, 31
Flanders, 173, 175, 179
Flavian emperors, 41
Fletcher, John, 254
Florence, 179, 180
Fontenay, battle of, 101
Forty-Two Articles, 209
France, after Franco-Prussian War, 305, 330, 331; age of Richelieu in, 222-26; and Avignon captivity, 166-69; and the Church, 134, 166-70, 264-65, 274; beginnings of, 109-11; colonial expansion, 239-40, 242-43, 325; Golden Age of, 242-46; in Hundred Years' War, 172-75; in Middle Ages, 124; in modern times, 194-95, 222-26, 227, 230-31, 270-71; in Thirty Years' War, 227, 230-31; in World War, 333-35, 336, 344; Normans in, 110-11; printing in, 180; Revolution in, 272-87; social life in, 264-66, 279-80; under Napoleon, 288-92
Franche Comté, 245
Francis I, of France, 194
Francis Ferdinand, of Austria, 332
Francis of Assisi, St., 147, 178
Francis Xavier, St., 215

INDEX

- Franciscan Spirituals, 169
 Franciscans, 147, 158, 159, 169, 190
 Franck, César, 321
 Franco, Francisco, 347
 Franco-Prussian War, 305, 330
 Franconia, 113
 Frankfort Assembly, 304
 Frankish monarchy, 88. *See also* Carolingian Empire
 Franklin, Benjamin, 273
 Franks, 60, 62, 63, 79, 86, 87, 89
 Frederick I (Barbarossa), of Germany, 121, 130
 Frederick II, of Germany, 121, 130-31, 134, 135
 Frederick II (the Great), of Prussia, 268, 269
 Frederick III, Elector Palatine, 228
 Frederick V, Elector Palatine, 229
 Free trade, 324
 Freedom, 188, 328-29. *See also* Liberty
 Freemasonry, 263, 275, 315, 346
 Frising, Otto von, 135
 French India, 326
 French Revolution, 262, 272-87, 304
 French West India Company, 239
 Fridigern, 61
 Friedland, battle of, 291
 Frisians, 90
 Frobisher, Martin, 240
 Fronde, rebellion of, 226
 Fulda, 100, 105
 Fundamentalists, 316

 Gairdner, James, 206
 Gaius, 42
 Galileo, 186, 255
 Gallicans, 264
 Gama, Vasco da, 189
 Gänsefleisch. *See* Gutenberg
 Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 306
 Gasparri, Pietro Cardinal, 351
 Gaul, 37, 49, 59-60, 62, 63, 84, 102
 Gauls, 29
 Gaxotte, Pierre, 277

 Gelasius I, Pope, 132
 Geneva, 203, 204-05, 274; Academy of, 205
 Genoa, 187
 Gentiles, 51
 Geoffrey of Bouillon, 119, 120
 Geography, 189
 George I, of England, 259
 George III, of England, 260
 George, Henry, 310
 Germanic Confederation, 304
 Germans, 59-60, 65
 Germany, after Franco-Prussian War, 330-32; and Holy Roman Empire, 113, 128-29, 130, 227-31; and the Church, 115-17, 129, 130, 134, 169; beginnings of, 101, 107-09; colonial expansion of, 325; conversion of, 83, 84, 89; creation of, 303-04, 305; Hohenstaufen in, 127-31; in eighteenth century, 267, 269; in Thirty Years' War, 227-31; in World War, 333-37, 340, 341; Nazism in, 343, 344, 346; Reformation in, 199-201, 228-29; rise of an independent state, 278, 303-04, 305; under Frederick the Great, 269
 Gerson, John, 170
 Ghibellines, 129
 Gibbon, Edward, 274
 Gibraltar, 260
 Gilbert, William, 255
 Gill, Eric, 321
 Girondists, 285
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 315
 Glastonbury, 84
 Gnostics, 50
 Gods, Greek, 12-13; Oriental, 20, 34; Roman, 25, 73
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 254, 303, 320
 Gold Coast (African), 327
 Golden Age, in literature, 41; of Greece, 14; of Louis XIV, 242-46; of Spain, 194

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Golden Bull, 108
Gonsalvo de Cordova, Hernández, 194
Gorky, Maxime, 320
Gospels, 45, 49
Goths, 60, 61
Gottschalk, Louis R., 277
Government, Carolingian, 96-101; definition of, 139; feudal, 109, 138-42; Greek, 14-15; medieval, 86-90, 138-43; Merovingian, 87-88; Napoleonic, 290-92; of absolute monarchs, 217-26, 234-35, 242-46, 270-71; of Alexander, 18-20; of enlightened despots, 267-71; of Philip II, 217-21; representative, in England, 173-74, 234-36, 257-60, 300, 302; republican, 27-29, 286, 288; revolutionary school of, 310-11; Roman, 27-29, 40-43; royal, 124, 142, 174-75, 194-95, 217-26, 234-35, 242-46, 267-71. *See also* Absolutism, Corporativism, Democracy, Fascism, Imperialism, Nationalism, Nazism
Gracchus, Caius, 36
Gracchus, Tiberius, 36
Granada, 188
Gratian, 61, 157
Great Britain, 294, 326-27
Great Revolt, 174
Great Western Schism, 166-71, 348
Greece, 11-23, 24, 49; modern, 296
Greek Orthodox Church, 120, 171
Greek philosophy, 22, 163
Greek religion, 13, 20
Greene, Robert, 254
Gregory I, Pope, 52, 77, 78-80, 83, 104, 105, 114, 135
Gregory VII, Pope, 112, 115-17, 135, 168
Gregory XI, Pope, 169, 170
Gregory XII, Pope, 135, 170-71
Gregory Nazianzen, St., 52
Gregory the Great, St. *See* Gregory I, Pope
Grey, Sir Edward, 333
Grieg, Edvard, 321
Grimm, Friedrich M., 304
Grosseteste, Roger, 159
Guelphs, 129, 130
Gueschin. *See* Der Gueschin, Bertrand
Guienne, 173
Guilds, 152-54, 179-80
Guiscard, Robert, 113, 119
Gustavus Adolphus, 228, 230, 249
Gutenberg (Gänsfleisch), Johann, 180
Guthrum, 105
Habeas Corpus Act, 235
Habsburg dynasty, 108, 129, 193, 199, 220, 227-28, 237
Hadrian, 42
Hadrian (St. Adrian, of Canterbury), 104
Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich, 316
Hague Conference, 328
Hamburg, 152
Hamilcar Barca, 30
Hammurabi, Code of, 8
Handel, George Frederick, 253
Hannibal, 19, 30-31
Hanseatic League, 143, 146, 151, 152
Hargreaves, James, 300
Harold II, of England, 122-23
Harun-al-Rashid, 94
Harvey, William, 255
Hastings, battle of, 111, 122-23
Hauptmann, Gerhart, 321
Hawkins, Sir John, 221
Hayes, Carlton J. H., 321
Hebrews, 8. *See also* Jews
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 304, 311, 314, 320
Hegesippus, 49
Hegira, 92
Hengist, 104
Henry II, of England, 124, 125, 173
Henry III, of England, 135, 142-43
Henry IV, of England, 174
Henry V, of England, 175
Henry VII, of England, 195

INDEX

- Henry VIII, of England, 185, 195, 206-
 09, 213, 234
 Henry IV, of France, 194, 223-24, 237,
 242
 Henry I, of Germany, 108, 129
 Henry II, of Germany, 129
 Henry IV, of Germany, 112, 115-17,
 135, 152
 Henry V, of Germany, 129
 Henry VI, of Germany, 130
 Henry the Fowler. *See* Henry I
 Henry the Navigator, 189
 Heresy, Arian, 50, 56, 66; definition
 of, 50; in early Church, 50, 68-69;
 Macedonian, 66; Manichean, 50, 66;
 prosecution of, 68-69, 148
 Hermas, 51
 Herod, 51
 Herodotus, 15
 Herzog, 60
 Hierarchy, definition of, 139
 Hiero, 30
 Hilda, St., 84, 104
 Hincmar of Rheims, 135
 Hindenburg, Paul von, 334
 History, definition of, 3-4, 44
 Hitler, Adolf, 346
 Hittites, 8, 10
 Hohenstaufen dynasty, 108, 129
 Holbach, Paul d', 274
 Holland, colonies of, 237, 239, 324;
 separation of Belgium from, 296;
 separation of from Empire, 196, 220,
 221
 Holstein, Adolph, 152
 Holy Alliance, 294
 Holy Land, 118. *See also* Palestine
 Holy Roman Empire, beginnings of,
 108-09; conflicts of with popes, 130-
 35; destruction of, 227-31, 289, 291;
 Germany and, 113, 129-31, 229-31,
 303; Italy and, 113-14, 128-30, 135,
 303; Maria Theresa and, 270; organi-
 zation of, 109; religious revolt and,
 195-96, 200-01, 228-29
- Homer, 12
Homilies on Job, 79
 Hongkong, 325, 327
 Honorius, 62, 67
 Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus),
 182
 Horsa, 104
 Hospitals, 85, 112-13, 146, 148, 152
 House of Commons, 173, 174
 Hudson, Henry, 240
 Hudson Bay, 260
 Hudson's Bay Company, 326
 Hugo, Victor, 320
 Huguenots, 194, 205, 220, 225, 239;
 and Henry IV, 194; and Philip II,
 220; and Richelieu, 225; colonies of,
 239; Edict of Nantes, 194, 225
 Humanism, 177, 178, 182-86, 192-93;
 Christian, 183, 184; pagan, 182-83,
 184
 Humanitarians, 310
 Hume, David, 273, 308
 Hundred Days, 292
 Hundred Years' War, 172-76
 Hungary, 108, 135, 251, 343
 Huns, 61, 62, 86
 Huss, John, 135, 170, 171
 Huxley, Thomas Henry, 316
 Huygens, Christian, 255
 Huysmans, Joris Karl, 321
 Ibsen, Henrik, 321
 Ignatius Loyola. *See* Loyola, Ignatius
 Ignatius Theophorus, 51
Iliad, 12
Illuminati, 275
 Illyricum, 59, 62
 Illyricus. *See* Flacius Illyricus
 Imperialism, 17, 68-69, 102, 298, 323-
 37
 Imperialist expansion, 323-27
 India, 9, 18, 82, 260, 327
 Indians, civilized as Spanish citizens,
 190, 221; in New France, 239-40;
 missions for, 221, 239-40

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Individualism, 178, 182, 218, 328
Indo-China, 325
Industrial revolution, 295, 298-302, 308, 329
Innocent III, Pope, 117, 125, 134-35, 158, 168, 177
Innocent IV, Pope, 117, 135-36
Innocent VI, Pope, 170
Innocent VII, Pope, 170
Inquisition, 148, 194, 214
Institutes of the Christian Religion, 203
Ionians, 12, 24
Ireland, 83, 84, 102, 233, 235
Irenicus, St., 51
Irnerius, 135, 157
Iron Age, 23
Isabella, of Spain, 185, 188, 190, 212, 219
Islam, 91-95, 120. *See also* Mohammedans, Moslems
Italy, and Holy Roman Empire, 113-14, 128-30, 135, 303; Church in, 49, 84, 89-90, 306-07, 348-52; creation of modern, 278, 303-07; early inhabitants of, 23-26, 35, 36; Fascism in, 344, 345-46; geography of, 23; Hohenstaufen in, 127-31; in World War, 334, 343; invasion of by barbarians, 60, 62-63, 67, 68, 89-90, 110; Papal States in, 89-90, 128-29, 304-07, 350; printing in, 180; Punic Wars, 30-31. *See also* Papal States, Rome
Iturbide, Don Augustín, 296
Ivan I, of Russia, 248
Ivan II, of Russia, 248

Jacobins, 285
Jacquerie rebellion, 173
James I, of England, 234
James II, of England, 235
Jansenists, 265
Japan, Dutch and, 326; imperialism in, 324-26; in World War, 334, 336; Perry's visit to, 326; Portuguese in, 326; war with China, 325; war with Russia, 325
Jehad, 93
Jerome, St., 52
Jerusalem, 48, 120; Council of, 51; kingdom of, 118, 119
Jessopp, Augustus, 206
Jesuits, 190, 214, 215-16, 243, 255, 265, 269, 274
Jesus Christ, 45-46, 48, 66
Jews, 48, 80, 92, 194
Joan of Arc, St., 173, 175
John, St., 49
John II, of France, 173
John VI, of Spain, 295
John XXII, Pope, 135, 169
John XXIII, Spanish puppet pope, 170, 171
John Baptist de la Salle, St., 243
John Chrysostom, St., 52
John Lackland, 124, 125-26, 134
John of Burgundy, 175
John of Gaunt, 174
John of Salisbury, 135
Jonson, Ben, 254
Jorgensen, Johann, 321
Joseph, St., 45
Joseph II, of Austria, 270
Joseph of Arimathea, 84
Josephus, 45
Julianus, 42
Julius II, Pope, 185
Julius III, Pope, 214
Justin, St., 51, 54, 72
Justin II, Emperor, 78
Justinian, Emperor, 65, 67-69
Jutes, 58, 102
Juvenal, 182

Kaaba, 92
Kalinin, Michael, 341
Kay, John, 300
Kent, 103
Kepler, Johann, 186, 255
Kerensky, Alexander, 341

INDEX

- Ketteler, Wilhelm Emanuel von, 311
 Kingdom of Two Sicilies, 130, 134
 Knights, of the Temple, 147-48, 168, 169; Teutonic, 147-48
 Knox, John, 202, 205
 Koran, 93
 Krupp family, 329
- Labor unions, 312
 Lacedemonians, 11
 Lactantius, Lucius, 53
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 280, 281, 285
Laissez faire principle, 276, 299, 310, 324
 Lake Dwellers, 7, 23
 Lake Regillus, battle of, 26
 Lanfranc, 123
 Langton, Stephen, 125, 134
 Language, Anglo-Saxon, 102; Balkan, 147; development of modern, 86-87, 147; English, 147; Etruscan, 24; German, 60, 147; Greek, 20, 42, 51; Latin, 42, 51, 58, 86-87, 147; Norman, 123; of the barbarians, 60; of the Church, 51; Roman, 22, 86-87; Romance, 147; Slavic, 147; Teutonic, 147
 La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, 240
 Lateran Accord, 348-52
 Lateran Council, Fifth, 214
 Latin language, 42, 51, 58, 86-87, 147
 Latin League, 24, 25, 29
 Latins, 24, 29
 Latium, 24, 27
 Laud, William, 234
Laurae, 82
 Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent, 273
 Law, Canon, 69-70, 139, 142; Church, 69-70, 139; Code of Hammurabi, 8; Code of Napoleon, 291; *Codex Priscus*, 69; common, 139; *Corpus Juris Canonici*, 70; *Corpus Juris Civilis*, 69; English common law, 233-35; feudal, 138-39, 142; Greek, 14; in Middle Ages, 88, 98; Justinian's code, 69; maritime, 8, 146; Vikingian, 88; Napoleonic, 291; of Guaranties, 350; Publilian, 28; Roman, 28-29, 39, 42-43, 69-70, 88, 135, 138-39, 157, 179; Salic, 173; Twelve Tables, 28
- Law, John, 279
 Lay investiture, 115-16
 League of Nations, 336, 337; of the Rhine, 226
 Lechfeld, battle of, 108
 Legislative Assembly, 281, 283, 284, 285
 Legists, of France, 135, 136, 168, 179
 Legitimacy, 294, 296, 298
 Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 225
 Leipzig, battle of, 292
 Lenin (Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov), 311, 340, 342
 Leo I, Pope, 67, 114
 Leo IX, Pope, 115-16
 Leo X, Pope, 185
 Leo XIII, Pope, 311, 315, 348, 350
 Leopold VI, of Austria, 121
 Lepanto, battle of, 251
Liber Judiciorum, 69
 Liberal arts, 156
 Liberalism, 309-10, 343
 Liberty, 112, 151, 188, 276, 299
 Licinian-Sextian reforms, 28
 Lindisfarne, 84, 104
 Linnaeus, Charles, 273
 Linus, 51
 Lippersheim, Hans, 255
 Literature, English, 254-55, 320; French, 254, 320; German, 303-04, 320; Greek, 12-13; Italian, 178-79; of the Renaissance, 178-79; Roman, 31, 41, 182; Russian, 320; Spanish, 254, 255
 Lithuania, 247
 Littré, Maximilien Paul Émile, 321
 Liturgy, of the Church, 51
 Liudolf, 107
 Livy, Titus, 24

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Locke, John, 273, 308
 Lombards, 60, 68, 79, 86, 89, 90;
 towns of, 129-30
 London, 143, 146, 261
 Long Parliament, 235
 Lope de Vega, Carpio, 254
 Lord, Robert H., 321
 Lorraine, 113
 Lothaire, 101
 Lotharingia, 101, 113, 128
 Louis V, of France, 109
 Louis VI, of France, 124
 Louis VII, of France, 121, 124
 Louis IX, of France, 121, 142
 Louis XI, of France, 194
 Louis XII, of France, 194
 Louis XIII, of France, 224
 Louis XIV, of France, 222, 225, 237,
 242-46, 249, 279
 Louis XV, of France, 264, 270, 279
 Louis XVI, of France, 264, 270, 279,
 283-84
 Louis XVIII, of France, 294
 Louis Philippe, 296
 Louis the Child, 107
 Louis the German, 101
 Louis the Pious, 100-01
 Louvois, François de, 244
 Low Countries, 141, 147, 180
 Loyola, St. Ignatius, 213, 215
 Lübeck, 152
 Luddite riots, 309
 Ludwig of Bavaria, 169
 Lunéville, Treaty of, 290
 Luther, Martin, 185, 197-201, 202, 206
 Lutheranism, 196, 199-201, 231
 Lutherans, 194, 196, 228-29
 Lützen, battle of, 230
 Luxembourg, François de, 244
 Lvov, Prince, 341
 Lydia, 13
 Lyell, Charles, 316

 Macaulay, Thomas, 320
 Machiavelli, Niccolò de, 330

 Macedon, 18, 19, 30, 31
 Macedonius, 66
 Madagascar, 94
 Madelin, Louis, 277
 Madrid, 309
 Magdalenian culture, 7
 Magna Charta, 125-26
 Magna Mater, 20
 Magnesia, battle of, 31
 Magyars, 86, 110
 Maimonides, 163
 Maine, 125
 Maistre, Joseph de, 320
 Malay States, 327
 Malmesbury, 104
 Mamertimes, 30
 Manchester liberals, 310
 Manchuria, 325
 Manicheans, 50, 66, 72
Manifesto, 311
 Mannerheim, Karl Gustave, 341-42
 Manorial system, 99-100, 141-42
 Manufacture, industrialization of, 300-
 01
 Manzibert, battle of, 120
 Marat, Jean Paul, 285
 Marathon, battle of, 13
 Marcian, Emperor, 67
 Marconi, Guglielmo, 351
 Marcus Aurelius, 41, 60
 Marengo, battle of, 290
 Maria Louisa, of Austria, 292
 Maria Theresa, of Austria, 269, 270
 Marie de Medici, 224
 Maritain, Jacques, 321
 Maritius, 78
 Marius, Caius, 36, 59
 Marlborough, Duke of (John Churchill), 250, 260
 Marlowe, Christopher, 254
 Marne, battle of, 334
 Marseilles, 29
 Marsilius (Marsiglio), of Padua, 135,
 169, 179
 Martel, Charles. *See* Charles Martel

INDEX

- Martin V, Pope, 171
 Martyrs, 48, 51, 54, 210
 Marx, Karl, 310-11, 340
 Mary of Nazareth. *See* Blessed Virgin Mary
 Mary I, of England, 195, 207, 209, 219
 Mary II, of England, 235, 259
 Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 209, 210, 219, 234
 Masinissa, 31
 Masonry. *See* Freemasonry
 Massenet, Jules Émile Frédéric, 321
 Materialism, 338-39
 Mathematics, 20, 186, 255, 319
 Maxwell, James Clerk, 320
 Mazarin, Jules, 225-26, 244
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 304, 306
 Mecca, 92-94
 Medici family, 184, 224
 Medicine, 20, 255
 Medieval architecture, 147; art, 180-81; Church, 112-17, 132-36, 166-71, 182-83; civilization, 76-191; culture, 144-48; democracy, 112, 218; government, 86-90, 138-43, 167; language, 147; literature, 178-79; mind, 144-48, 184-85; philosophy, 161-65, 179, 185-86; printing, 180; religious orders, 147-48; society, 146-47, 148, 166-67, 178; town life, 149-54, 179-80; unity, 146-47, 148, 178; universities, 155-59
 Medina, 92, 94
 Megarians, 14
Mein Kampf, 346
 Melanchthon, Philip, 200
 Mendel, Gregory, 315, 320
 Mendeleef, Dmitri, 320
 Mensheviks, 340
 Mercantilism, 223-24, 240, 324
 Mercia, 103
 Merovingian government, 87-89, 102
 Mesopotamia, 19
 Metal Age, 7
 Methodism, 258
 Methodius, St., 86
 Metternich, Clemens von, 293-97, 298
 Mexico, 190, 295, 296
 Michael Cerularius, 120
 Michelangelo, Buonarotti, 181, 183, 184
 Middle Ages, 2, 76-191, 355-56; Carolingian Empire, 96-101; Church and State in, 112-17, 132-36, 166-71; Crusades, 118-21; end of, 187-91; founders of, 76-80; government in, 86-90, 138-43; in England, 102-06, 122-26, 172-76; in France, 109-11, 122, 124-25, 172-76; in Germany, 107-09, 113, 115-17, 127-31; in Italy, 113-14, 127-31; mind of, 144-48, 184-85; Mohammedanism in, 91-95; monasticism in, 81-85; philosophy of, 161-65, 179, 185-86; Renaissance, 177-81; town life in, 149-54, 179-80; unity of, 177-78; universities of, 155-59
 Migrations, barbarian, 57-64, 110-11; Danish, 101, 105-06; Frankish, 62, 63, 87; German, 59-61, 65; Magyar, 110; Mongol, 248; Moslem, 91, 93-95; Norman, 101, 110-11; of Goths, 61-62, 63; of Huns, 61, 62-63; of Vandals, 62, 63; Russian, 110, 247-48
 Milan, 309; Edict of, 55
 Millikan, Robert, 320
 Miltiades, 13
 Milton, John, 254
 Milyukov, Paul, 341
 Minos, 11
 Mirabeau, Honore dé, 284
 Missionary activities, and imperialism, 325; Anglo-Saxon, 89, 105; in America, 190, 221; of early Church, 53-55; of France, 239-40; of Irish monks, 83, 104; of Jesuits, 216; of monks, 79, 83, 104-05, 108
 Mithras, 20
 Mithridates, 36, 37

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Mitsuhito, Emperor, 326
 Modern history, 192-352; beginnings of, 192-96
 Modernists, 316
 Modestinus, 42
 Moesia, 61
 Mohammed, 91, 92-93
 Mohammedans, conquests of, 62, 66, 91-92, 93-94, 120, 177; crusades against, 118-21; defeats of, 89, 94, 114, 119-20; in Spain, 188; rise of, 91-95. *See also* Islam, Moors
 Molay, Jacques de, 169
 Molière (Jean Baptiste Poquelin), 254
 Molina, Luis, 256
 Moltke, Helmuth von, 305
 Mommsen, Theodor, 304
Monarchia, 304
 Monarchies, national, 108; in England, 122-23, 124-26, 142-43, 173-74, 195, 206-10, 232-36, 257-60; in France, 109-10, 124, 142, 173, 174-75, 194-95, 222-26, 237, 242-46; in Germany, 108-09, 113, 129, 130-31, 195-96; in Italy, 113-14; in Spain, 193-94, 217-21
 Monasteries, definition of, 82; English, 104-05, 206-11; for virgins, 55; French Revolution and, 281; German, 108; Henry VIII and, 206-11; Irish, 83; Norman, 111; Occidental, 82; of St. Benedict, 77-78, 83-84; Oriental, 82; St. Gregory the Great and, 78-79; suppression of, 206, 208-09, 281
 Monasticism, 76, 77, 81-85, 147-48.
See also Monasteries, Religious Orders
 Mongols, 61, 248
 Monica, St., 72
 Monroe Doctrine, 296
 Montanists, 50
 Monte Cassino, 77, 83
 Montesquieu, Charles de, 273
 Montferrat, Boniface de, 121
 Moors, 89, 188, 194
 More, St. Thomas, 184, 185, 207
 Morgan, Henry, 239
 Moriscos, 222
 Morley, John, 277
 Morocco, 94, 331
 Moscow, 309
 Moses, 8
 Moslems. *See* Mohammedans
 Mozart, Johann Chrysostom Wolfgang Amadeus, 321
 Munda, battle of, 37
Municipia, 29
 Music, early modern, 253; medieval songs, 147; of nineteenth century, 321-22
 Mussolini, Benito, 345, 349, 350, 351
 Mycale, battle of, 14
 Nabuchodonosor, 8
 Naevius, Cneius, 31
 Naples, 306
 Napoleon. *See* Bonaparte, Napoleon
 Napoleon III, 296, 306
 Napoleonic Code, 291; Empire, 292; wars, 290-92, 326
 Natal, 326
 National Assembly, 280-81, 285
 National Convention, 284-86, 288, 308
 National corporations, 346
 National Council of Soviets, 341
 National monarchies. *See* Monarchies, national
 National states, 167, 172, 175-76, 192-96, 245, 263, 289, 296, 303-07
 Nationalism, 167-68, 263, 289, 298, 321, 329
 Nationalist dictators, 343-47
 Nationalists, 313
 Nations, in universities, 158; battle of the, 292, 293
 Navarino, battle of, 296
 Navigation Acts, 240
 Naziism, 346
 Nelson, Horatio, 291
 Nero, Lucius Domitius, 41, 49, 54

INDEX

- New South Wales, 260
 New Zealand, 327
 Newfoundland, 260
 Newman, John Henry Cardinal, 44
 Newton, Isaac, 255, 273
 Nicea, 120; Council of, 66, 67
 Nicene Creed, 66
 Nicholas II, of Russia, 341
 Nicholas II, Pope, 116
 Nicholas V, Pope, 183
 Nicholas of Cusa, 212
 Niebuhr, Barthold Georg, 304
 Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 314
 Nigeria, 327
 Nihawand, battle of, 93
 Nihilism, 340
 Nika Riot, 67
 Nineteenth century, intellectual life in, 318-22; science, politics, and religion in, 313-17; social problems of, 308-12
 Nobles, among barbarians, 60; Egyptian, 9; English, 125, 259; feudal, 99, 140-42; French, 264, 283; German, 60; in Carolingian Empire, 99-100; in Frankish Empire, 88-89, 99-100; in French Revolution, 264, 283; Russian, 339
 Nogaret, Jacques, 168
 Nonsectarianism, 318
 Noricum, 60
 Normandy, 109, 110-11, 122, 125, 173, 175
 Normans, 101, 109, 110-11, 113-14, 119, 122
 Northeastern Europe, 247-51
 Northern War, 250
 Northumberland, 103
 Norway, 196
 Novgorod, 143, 146, 248
 Noyes, Alfred, 321
 Numa Pompilius, 25
 Oath of the Tennis Court, 280
 Obedience to authority, 308-12
 Oblates, 215
 Ockham, William, 135
 Octavian Augustus. *See* Augustus, Octavian
 Odilo, St., 114
 Odo, Count of Paris, 110
 Odovaker, 59, 63, 67, 76
 Old Régime, end of, 262-66
 Olympic games, 13
 Omar I, 93
 Opera, 253
 Opium war, 325
 Oracles, 13
 Orange Free State, 326
 Oratorians, 215
 Order of Preachers. *See* Dominicans
 Orders, military, 147-48, 168, 169; religious, 82-84, 104-05, 114-15, 147-48, 169, 190, 208, 215-16, 243, 281, 283. *See also* Monasteries, Monasticism
 Origen, 51
Origin of Species, 316
 Orleans, Duke of, 281
 Ostrogoths, 61, 67, 86
 Othman (Othman-Ibn-Affan), 94
 Otto I, of Germany, 108, 113, 128
 Otto IV (Otto of Saxony), of Germany, 134
 Ottoman Turks, 250-51
 Owen, Robert, 310
 Oxford, University of, 158-59
 Oxford Movement, 315
 Ozanam, Antoine Frédéric, 311
 Pacelli, Eugenio Cardinal, 352
 Padua, University of, 157
 Pagan Humanism, 182-83, 184
 Paganism, 55, 56, 72-73. *See also* Greek religion, Roman religion
 Painting. *See* Art
 Palermo, 78
 Palestine, 119, 120
 Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da, 253
 Pan-Hellenic Union, 13

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Panem-et-circenses* policy, 34
 Pannonia, 60, 61, 63
 Panormita, Antonio Beccadelli, 184
 Pantheon, 182
 Papacy, and feudalism, 133-35; and the Empire, 113, 114-17, 130, 134; as instrument of civilization, 76-77, 79-80, 111; conflicts of with State, 115, 116-17, 167-71; powers of, 129, 133-35, 167, 348; reform of, 115-16, 213-14, 348-49
 Papal States, 90, 113, 114, 116, 128, 133, 168, 304, 306-07, 350
 Papinian, Aemilius, 42
Paradise Lost, 254
 Paris, 110, 265, 280, 285, 309; schools of, 158; University of, 100, 146, 155, 156, 179, 243
 Parlements, French, 223
 Parliament, English, 142, 173-74, 176, 233, 234-35, 260, 302; French, 142, 223; medieval, 141, 142-43; Prussian, 305; Spanish, 188
 Parliament of 1265, 142-43
 Parthenon, 15
 Pasteur, Louis, 315, 320
 Pastor, Ludwig von, 315
Patres conscripti, 28
 Patricians, 27-29
 Patricius, 62, 63
 Patrick, St., 83
 Paul, St., 49, 51, 54
 Paul III, Pope, 213, 215
 Paul IV, Pope, 214
 Paulus, Julius, 42
 Pax Romana, 34
 Peace, 73, 74; of Amiens, 290; of Augsburg, 196, 200, 228-29; of Calais, 173; of Moscow, 249; of Oliva, 249; of the Pyrenees, 226; of Tilsit, 291; of Versailles, 336-37; of Westphalia, 230-31. *See also* Pax Romana, Treaty, Truce of God
 Peasants, 265
 Pella, 18
 Peloponnesian War, 15
 Pentecost, 48
 Pepin I, 89
 Pepin II, 89
 Pergamum, 20, 31
 Peri, Giacomo, 253
 Pericles, 14-15, 17
 Perry, Oliver Hazard, 326
 Perseus, 31
 Persia, 8, 14, 15, 18, 20, 49, 93, 94, 120
 Perugia, 180
 Peter, St., 46, 48, 49, 66
 Peter I, of Russia, 248, 250, 251, 269
 Peter the Hermit, 119
 Peterborough, 84
 Petition of Right, 235
 Petrarch, Francesco, 178
 Petrograd, 338, 341
 Pharsalus, battle of, 37
 Phidias, 15
 Philip II, of France, 121, 124, 134
 Philip IV, of France, 136, 167, 168, 169
 Philip VI, of France, 173
 Philip II, of Macedon, 18
 Philip V, of Macedon, 17, 19, 31
 Philip II, of Spain, 185, 194, 219-21
 Philip Augustus. *See* Philip II, of France
 Philip Neri, St., 243
 Philip the Fair. *See* Philip IV, of France
Philosophes, 268, 273-74
 Philosophy, Greek, 14, 21, 22, 163; medieval, 179; of history, 315; scholastic, 162, 163-64, 178, 182-83, 200, 255-56. *See also* Materialism, Nihilism, *Philosophes*
 Phoenicians, 8
 Pilgrims, 234
 Pitt, William, 260
 Pius IV, Pope, 215
 Pius V, Pope, 210, 214
 Pius VI, Pope, 282

INDEX

- Pius IX, Pope, 306, 348, 349, 350
 Pius X, Pope, 350
 Pius XI, Pope, 348, 349, 350, 351
 Pizarro, Francisco, 190
 Placentia, 30
 Plantagenet dynasty, 124, 125, 174
 Plassey, battle of, 260
 Platea, battle of, 14
 Plato, 182
 Plautus, Titus Maccius, 31
 Plectenians, 28
 Pliny, Gaius Plinius Cæcilius (the Younger), 45
 Plutarch, 182
 Poetry, English, 254-55; Greek, 12-13; Roman, 24, 182
 Poitiers, battle of, 89, 94, 173
 Poitou, 125
 Poland, 135, 247, 248, 249-50, 269, 292, 329, 336
 Pole, Reginald, 213
 Polybius, 27
 Polycarp, St., 51
 Pompey, 37
Pontifex maximus, 27
 Popes, *See* Papacy
 Portugal, 2, 133, 135, 187, 189, 190-91, 295, 296, 343, 344, 346
Prætores, 28, 30
 Presbyterians, 205, 233
 Priestley, Joseph, 273
Princeps Senatus, 40
 Printing, 180
 Protestantism, 194, 197-205, 206, 208-10, 219, 225, 239, 263
 Proudhon, Pierre Joseph, 310
 Provence, 90, 113
 Prussia, 247, 284, 294, 304, 305
 Ptolemies, 19
 Ptolemy V, 31
 Publilian Law, 28
 Pullen, Robert, 158
 Pultova, battle of, 249, 250
 Punic Wars, 29-32
 Purcell, Henry, 253
 Puritans, 205, 233, 234
 Pydna, battle of, 31
 Pyrrhus, 29
 Pytheas of Marseilles, 59
Quadragesimo Anno, 351
Quadrivium, 156
 Quadruple Alliance, 294
 Quaternary Age, 7
 Quebec, battle of, 260
 Racine, Jean, 254
 Raetia, 60
 Raleigh expeditions, 239
 Ranke, Leopold von, 304
 Raphael Sanzio, 181
 Rasputin, Gregory Efimovich, 340
 Rationalists, 313
 Ravenna, 62, 67
 Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, 120
 Reading, 84
 'Realpolitik,' 330, 336
 Red Cross, 328
 Reformation, 177, 197-205; English, 206
 Reich, 60
 Reinsurance Treaty of 1887, 330
 Religion, Christian, 44-56, 63-64, 66-67, 72-88, 102, 104-05, 110, 188, 190, 263, 311-14, 329, 355; Greek, 13, 20; Greek Orthodox, 120, 171; Hebrew, 8; hostility toward, 268, 313-14; Mohammedan, 91-95; Protestant, 194, 197-205, 206, 208-10, 219, 225, 239, 263; Roman, 25, 41
 Religious orders, 82-84, 104-05, 114-15, 147-48, 169, 190, 208, 215-16, 243, 281, 283. *See also* Monasteries, Monasticism
 Religious revolt, 197-201
 Religious toleration, 113, 221, 225
 Religious wars, against Turks, 118-21, 249, 250-51; in France, 194-95, 225; in Germany, 227-31; in Scandinavian countries, 196

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Renaissance, 177-81, 182; Carolingian, 100
 Republic, French, 285-86; Roman, 22, 27-32, 36
 Republican wars, 31-32
Rerum Novarum, 311
 Restoration, 235, 259
 Reuchlin, Johann, 184
 Revolution, American, 260, 278; French, 262, 272-87, 304; Industrial, 295, 298-302, 308, 329; Protestant, 177, 197-205; Russian, 338-42; South American, 295-96.
 Rheims, 100, 175
 Rhodes, 20, 31, 94
 Rhos, 110
 Richard I, of England, 121
 Richard II, of England, 174
 Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal, 237, 242, 244, 291
 Rikimer, 61
 Rinuccini, Ottavio, 253
 Robert of Flanders, 120
 Robert of Normandy, 120
 Robespierre, Maximilien Marie Isidore, 286
 Roland, Marie Jeanne Philipon, 273
 Rolf, 109
 Roman Empire, 1, 20, 39-45, 57-58, 63, 67, 86, 182; Federation, 29; language, 22, 86-87; law, 28-29, 39, 42-43, 69-70, 88, 135, 138-39, 157, 179; religion, 25, 41; republic, 22, 27-32, 36
 Romanovs, 248
 Romanticists, 320
 Rome, bishops of, 66-67; conversion of, 53-56; culture of, 22, 57; in transition, 33-38; invasion of, 58-63, 87; principate and empire, 39-43; republican, 27-32; rise of, 22-26; sack of, 213. *See also* Eastern Empire, Western Empire
 Romulus, 25
 Romulus Augustulus, 63, 67
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 273, 274-75, 288, 294, 308
 Rudolph of Habsburg, 129
Rules for the Pastoral Office, 79
 Runnymede, 125
 Rupert, Prince, 326
 Rurik dynasty, 110, 248
 Russia, and Balkans, 331, 333; and Congress of Vienna, 294; and France, 331, 332; and Japan, 325; and Napoleon, 291, 292; and Northmen, 249; and Poland, 249-50, 269; and Sweden, 249, 250; and Turks, 250; and World War, 332, 333-34, 335, 340-41; Catherine the Great and, 269-70; conversion of, 84, 247; development of, 247-50; Europeanization of, 248-50; migrations of, 110, 247-48; Peter the Great and, 248, 250; revolution in, 335, 338-42; Romanovs in, 248; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 342
 Russian Revolution, 335, 338-42
 Sabines, 24
 Sadowa, battle of, 305
 St. Germain-des Prés, 100
 Saint-Just, Antoine de, 286
 Saint-Mihiel, battle of, 336
 Salamis, battle of, 13
 Salazar, Oliveira, 347
 Salerno, University of, 158
 Salian dynasty, 108, 129
 Salian Franks, 63
 Samnites, 24, 29
 San Ildefonso, Treaty of, 270
 San Martín, José de, 295
 Saracens, 101, 113, 119
 Sardinia, 30, 306
 Sargon, 8
 Saxon dynasty, 108, 129
 Saxons, 58, 60, 90, 102, 105
 Saxony, 107, 130
 Scandinavians, 105, 200-01, 247, 248-49, 250

INDEX

- Schiller, Johann von, 303
 Schism, Great Western, 167, 169-71;
 Greek, 120
 Schlegel, August Wilhelm von, 304,
 320
 Schleswig-Holstein, 305
 Schliemann, Heinrich, 12
 Schneider-Creusot firm, 329
 Scholastic philosophy, 162, 163-64, 178,
 182-83, 200, 255-56
 Scholastica, St., 77
 Scholasticism. *See* Scholastic philosophy
 Schools, chantry, 153; Christian, 55;
 monastic, 84. *See also* Education,
 Universities
 Schubert, Franz, 321
 Science, 20, 186, 255, 313-17, 319-20,
 328
 Scipio, Cornelius Africanus, 31
 Scotland, 83, 205, 232
 Scott, Walter, 320
 Second Coalition, 290
 Seipel, Ignaz, 347
 Seleucids, 19
 Seljuk Turks, 120
 Semites, 8
 Senate, Roman, 25, 27-28, 31, 37, 40-
 41, 42
Senatus consulta, 31
Senatus consultum, 36
Sentences, 159
 Sepoy rebellion, 327
 Septimania, 90
 Serbia, 135
 Serfdom, Greek, 13, 17; medieval, 99;
 Roman, 35, 54, 57; Russian, 68
 Seven Weeks' War, 305
 Seven Years' War, 260, 326
 Seventeenth century, culture of, 252-56
 Severus, Alexander, 42, 99
 Severus, Lucius Septimius, 42
 Seville, 222
 Seymour, Edward, 206
 Shakespeare, William, 254
 Shaw, George Bernard, 320
 Shires, 103
 Sibelius, Jan, 321
Sic et Non, 163
 Sicily, 24, 30, 113, 119, 134, 135. *See*
 also Kingdom of Two Sicilies
 Sienna, 180
 Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, 279, 308
 Silesia, 269
 Sisters of Charity, 215; of Notre
 Dame, 215
 Sixteenth century, culture of, 252-56
 Skoda works, 329
 Slavery. *See* Serfdom
 Slavs, 86, 108, 247
 Sluys, battle of, 172
 Smith, Adam, 261, 276, 310, 324
 Sobieski, John, 250, 251
Social Contract, 275
 Social Democratic Party, 340
 Social problems of the nineteenth cen-
 tury, 308-12
 Social Revolutionary Party, 340
 Socialism, 310
 Society, barbarian, 60; Christian, 44-
 45, 46, 48, 53, 73-74; definition of,
 139; effect of Industrial Revolution
 on, 300-02; Egyptian, 9-10; eight-
 eenth-century, 262-67; English, 124-
 26, 173-74, 195, 208-09, 258-59, 300-
 02; French, 222-23, 225, 264-66,
 279-81, 285; German, 196, 197, 304,
 343, 346; Greek, 11, 12-13, 17-18,
 20; Humanistic, 182-86; Italian,
 306-07, 345-46, 350-51; medieval,
 81, 83-84, 87-89, 97-100, 107-09,
 123, 124-26, 133-34, 138-42, 145-
 47, 149-54, 175-76, nineteenth-cen-
 tury, 308-12, 313-14; Renaissance,
 177-78, 179-80; Roman, 23, 25-26,
 28, 33, 35, 41-42, 57, 63-64, 81;
 Russian, 339-42; Spanish, 188-89,
 347; twentieth-century, 338-39, 343-
 47
 Socrates, 15
 Soissons, battle of, 87

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- Solidarism, 148
 Soloviev, 321
 Sophocles, 15
 South Africa, 327
 Soviet Socialist Republics, 342
 Spain, and Humanism, 185; and Napoleon, 270, 291; and New World, 2, 187-91, 193, 220-21, 295-96; Church in, 49, 84, 133; civil war in, 343, 344-45, 347; decline of, 222, 270, 343; feudalism in, 188, 190; Golden Age of, 189-90, 193-94, 217-21; in sixteenth century, 187-88; in Thirty Years' War, 228, 230; invasions of, 94, 95, 187-88; literature of, 254, 255; printing in, 180; Renaissance in, 185; Roman province, 30, 32, 33
 Spanish Armada, 194, 220; colonies, 187-91, 193, 220-21, 295-96; literature, 254, 255
 Spanish Main, 240
 Spanish March, 90
 Spanish Netherlands, 220
 Spanish Succession, war of, 245, 260
 Sparta, 13, 14, 15
 Spec, Friedrich von, 303
 Spencer, Herbert, 316
 Spengler, Oswald, 353
 Speyer, diet of, 228
 Stalin, Joseph, 341, 342
 State, and Church, conflicts between, 109, 112-17, 132-36, 166-71, 206-10, 281-82, 314-15, 348-52; city, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22-23, 25, 27, 30, 31; definition of, 139; growth of modern, 133, 136, 167; medieval, 109, 134, 138; national, 167, 172, 175-76, 192-96, 245, 263, 289, 296, 303-07; party, 344-47; supremacy of 311. *See also* National monarchies
 Stephen I, Pope, 66
 Stephen III, Pope, 89
 Stephen Batory. *See* Batory, Stephen
 Stephen of Blois, 120
 Stilicho, Flavius, 60, 62
 Stoicism, 21
 Stone Age, 7
 Strindberg, August, 321
 Suabia, 107, 108, 129
 Suabian dynasty, 108, 129
 Suarez, Francis, 234, 256
 Suetonius, Caius Tranquillus, 45
 Suevi, 62
 Suez Canal, 327
 Suleiman II, of Turkey, 250
 Sulla, Lucius Cornelius, 36, 37
 Sully, Maximilien de Béthune, 223, 225, 244
 Sumerians, 8
Summa contra Gentiles, 162
Summa Theologica, 161, 164-65
 Sussex, 103
 Sweden, 196, 227, 228, 247, 248, 249, 250, 278
 Swedish Succession, war of, 249
 Switzerland, 83, 231
 Syagrius, 87
 Sylvester I, Pope, 67
 Sylvester II, Pope, 114
 Synod of Whitby, 104
 Syracuse, 13, 29
 Syria, 18, 19, 32, 33, 34, 49, 120
 Tacitus, Caius Cornelius, 45, 60
 Taine, Hippolyte Adolphe, 277
 Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, 293, 294
 Talon, Omer, 240
 Tannenberg, battle of, 334
 Tarquinius Priscus, 25
 Tarquinius Superbus, Lucius, 25
 Tasmania, 260
 Tchaikowsky, Peter Ilitch, 321
 Templars, 147-48, 168, 169
 Tennyson, Alfred, 119
 Terror, the, 286
 Tertiary Age, 7
 Tertullian, Quintus Septimus Florens,

INDEX

- Tetzl, Johann, 199
 Teuta, 30
 Teutones, 36, 58
 Teutonic Knights, 147, 247
 Theatines, 215
 Thebes, 18
 Themistocles, 13
 Theodore of Tarsus, 104
 Theodoric, 67
 Theodosius I, Flavius, 55, 61, 66, 67, 69
 Theophylact family, 113
 Thermopylae, battle of, 13, 31
 Thessaly, 12, 18
 Third Coalition, 291
 Third Estate, 279-80
 Thirty Years' War, 225, 227-31
 Thomas à Becket, St., 125
 Thomas Aquinas, St., 135, 161-65
 Thornc, Robert, 240
 Thrace, 18, 61
 Three Emperors League, 330
 Thucydides, 15
 Tiberius, Claudius Nero, 41
 Tiberius II, 78
 Tilly, Johan Tzerklos von, 229, 230
 Titus, Flavius Vespasianus, 8
 Tocqueville, Alexis Charles de, 277
 Toledo, 63
 Toleration, 18-19, 113, 221, 225
 Tolstoy, Leo Nikolaievitch, 320
 Tonty, Henry de, 240
 Tories, 233, 259
 Toulon, 290
 Toulouse, 62, 63
 Touraine, 125
 Tours, 100
 Town life, medieval, 149-54
 Towns, growth of, 149-52, 179-80; medieval, 84, 149-54, 179, 182; Roman, 29
 Trafalgar, battle of, 291
 Trajan, Marcus, 42
 Transalpine Gaul, 37
 Transylvania, 251
 Treaty, of Brest-Litovsk, 335, 341; of Campo Formio, 290; of Lunéville, 290; of San Ildefonso, 270; of the Lateran, 349; of Verdun, 101, 107, 113, 128; of Versailles, 346; of Westphalia, 230-31; Reinsurance of 1887, 330. *See also* Peace
 Treitschke, Henrich von, 304
 Trent, Council of, 214, 255
 Tribunes, 28
 Triple Alliance, 330
 Triple Entente, 331
Trivium, 156
 Trotsky, Leo Davidovich, 341
 Troy, 24
 Truce of God, 109
 Tudor, Margaret, 234
 Tudor, Mary, 219
 Tudor dynasty, 134, 195, 206-10, 232
 Tullus Hostilius, 25
 Turenne, Henri de, 244
 Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, 310
 Turkey, 296, 343
 Turks, 120, 177, 249, 250-51
 Tusculum, 27
 Tut-ankh-amun, 10
 Twelve Tables, 28
 Tyndale, William, 185
 Tyre, 8
 Ukraine, 250
 Ulm, battle of, 291
 Ulpian, Domitius, 42, 138
 Ultramontaines, 157
 Ulyanov, Vladimir (Lenin), 340
 Umayyads, 94
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 342
 United States, 278, 296, 335
 Unity, of Middle Ages, 143, 146, 151, 152, 177-78; religious, 2, 66, 74-75, 151
 Universalism, 146
 Universities, 155-59, 179, 243
 University, of Alexandria, 55; of Ath-

HISTORY OF EUROPE

- ens, 55; of Berlin, 305; of Bologna, 70, 157-58; of Cambridge, 159; of Oxford, 158-59; of Padua, 157; of Paris, 100, 146, 155, 156, 179, 243; of Salerno, 158; of Vicenza, 157
Urban II, Pope, 119
Urban VI, Pope, 170
Ursulines, 214, 215
Utopia, 207

Valens, Flavius, 61
Valla, Lorenzo, 184
Valmy, battle of, 285
Vandals, 60, 62, 63, 67
Vasa, Gustavus, 247
Vasa, Sigismund, 249
Vasa family, 247, 248
Vassals, 113, 140-42
Vatican Council, 314; Library, 183; palace, 307, 349; State, 351
Vauban, Sebastian de, 244
Vendôme, Louis de, 244
Venezuela, 295
Venice, 180, 187
Verdi, Giuseppe, 321
Verdun, battle of, 335; Treaty of, 101, 107, 113, 128
Vergil, 182
Versailles palace, 245, 280; Treaty of, 336-37, 346
Vespasian, Titus Flavius, 41
Veuillot, Louis, 321
Vicenza, University of, 157
Victor Emanuel II, of Italy, 306
Vienna, 309; Congress of 293-95
Vikings, 105, 110
Villages, German, 60
Villein class, 99
Villeneuve-Bargemont, Jean Paul de, 311
Vincent de Paul, St., 243
Vinci, Leonardo da, 181, 184
Visigoths, 61-62, 63, 86, 87
Vittoria, Francisco de, 256
Vladimir, St., 86, 247

Voltaire (François Marie Arouet), 268, 272, 274
Wagner, Richard, 304, 321
Wales, 102
Wallace, Alfred Russel, 316
Wallenstein, Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius, 230
Walpole, Robert, 260
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 209, 219
Walther von der Vogelweide, 303
War, Balkan, 331; Chinese-Japanese, 325; civil, 36-38, 60, 100-01, 113-14, 125, 129, 173, 175, 194-95, 223, 225, 229, 235, 243, 244, 286, 343, 344-45, 347; Crusades, 118-21; Franco-Prussian, 305, 330; Gallic, 37; Hundred Years', 172-76; Macedonian, 18; Mohammedan, 93-94; Napoleonic, 290-92, 326; Norman Conquest, 122-23; Northern, 250; of the Roses, 176; of the Spanish Succession, 245, 260; of the Swedish Succession, 249; Opium, 325; Peloponnesian, 15; Persian, 13-14, 15; Polish, 249; Punic, 29-31; religious, 118-21, 194-95, 196, 225, 227-31, 249, 250-51; Republican, 31-32; Revolutionary, 260; Russian-Japanese, 325; Seven Weeks', 305; Seven Years', 260, 326; Thirty Years', 225, 227-31; with Turks, 118-21, 250-51; World, 333-36. *See also* Barbarian invasions, Revolution
Waterloo, battle of, 292
Watt, James, 299
Welfs. *See* Guelphs
Wells, Herbert G., 320
Weremouth-Jarrow, 84, 104
Wessex, 103
West Franks, 101, 107
West Goths. *See* Visigoths
West India Company, 239
West Indies, 327
Western Empire, 57, 59, 62, 63-64, 65, 67, 76, 81, 86

INDEX

- Western Schism, 166-71, 348
Westminster, 84
Westphalia, Treaty of, 230-31
Whig party, 233, 259
Whitby, 84; synod of, 104
Whitney, Eli, 300
Wickham, Harvey, 321
Wilhelm II, of Germany, 330-31
William I, of England (the Conqueror), 111, 122-24, 134, 142
William III, of England, 235, 259
William (Wilhelm) I, of Germany, 305
William II, of Germany. *See* Wilhelm II
William of Champeaux, 158, 163
William of Moerbeke, 163
William of Ockham, 169
William of Orange. *See* William III, of England
William the Conqueror. *See* William I, of England
Wilson, Woodrow, 334, 335
Windle, Sir Bertram, 321
Witan, 103
Wolfe, James, 260
World Court, 337
World War, 333-36
Wrangel, Peter Nicholaievich, 341
Wren, Christopher, 254
Writers, Christian, 51-52, 311-12; economic, 310; English, 209, 310, 320; French, 254, 320; German, 303-04, 320; Humanistic, 184; Italian, 180; materialistic, 339; modern, 353; nationalistic, 303-04, 320-21; of French Revolutionary period, 273-75, 308; political, 256; Renaissance, 178-80; Roman, 34, 41, 69, 182; Russian, 320; Scandinavian, 321; scientific, 316-17, 320; traditional, 321
Writing, development of, 9
Wyclif, John, 135, 171
Xerxes I, 13, 14
Ximenes de Cisneros, Francisco, 212
Yeomanry, Roman, 35
Yokohama, 326
Young, Arthur, 261
Zama, battle of, 31
Zanzibar, 94
Zeno, 14
Zola, Émile, 320
Zollverein, 304
Zwingli, Ulrich, 203, 209

